

A SURVEY OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN TOWN OF STOBI*

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The manuscript was completed in the year 1943. Literature which appeared after that date has not been incorporated.

E. K.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>Arch. Anz.</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BIAB</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare</i>
<i>BRGK</i>	<i>Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission</i>
<i>Ephem.</i>	<i>Archaiologike Ephemeris</i>
<i>God.</i>	<i>Godisnjak of the Royal Serbian Academy of Sciences</i>
<i>JOAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>Pauly-Wissowa</i>	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
<i>Star.</i>	<i>Starinar</i>

I. INTRODUCTION

ARCHAEOLOGICAL field work of the last few decades has brought to light not only an imposing number of individual monuments of Late Antique and Early Christian date, but also entire towns which, although they originated in Classical times, continued to flourish during the ensuing centuries, and thus throw light on urban life and art in that vital era of transition from the Classical to the Mediaeval period. Most of the famous cities of that period are lost to us forever. We can never hope to walk through the streets of Early Christian Rome; Alexandria as Clement or Athanasius knew it is deeply buried beneath a sprawling modern city, and Constantine's foundation on the Bosphorus was destined to play too great a role in all succeeding centuries ever to re-emerge in its pristine shape, except perhaps on the pages of archaeological treatises. In Antioch a great deal more of the mass of earth which through the centuries has accumulated over that proud city will have to be removed before it will breathe and come to life again as an architectural organism. Ephesos alone among the great metropolises has been recovered from the soil to the extent that we may roam its streets and markets, its private and public buildings, its temples and churches, much as the tourist since the 18th century has been wont to roam Pompeii. But a number of lesser cities have been given back to us, notably in North Africa and Syria. Places like Timgad, Djemila, and Carthage have regained tangible reality, and so have Gerasa and Bosra. In the Black Sea region we have the city of Chersonnese, where entire street blocks as well as churches have been recovered. On the Adriatic coast there is Salona, whose outlines we begin to discern as a result of much patient work. In the Balkans proper, that important but badly neglected region which functioned as a link (or watershed?) between the east and west Roman cultures, only one place so far has yielded more than isolated and incoherent architectural remnants both of Roman and Early Christian times, and that place is Stobi.

Ten years ago Miss Goldman in a brief notice ¹ drew attention to the importance of the finds made on that Yugoslavian site. This article, to my knowledge, is the only one ever published on Stobi in English. In the average archaeologist's mind Stobi does not yet rank with places like Gerasa or Bosra about which monographs have appeared. Some of its buildings, notably the great church and the theater, which are fairly easily accessible in

¹ *AJA*, 37 (1933), p. 297 ff.

German and Austrian publications, may have acquired a place in his consciousness as part of that vague mass of monuments known as the Balkans material. As a city it yet remains to be put on the map. If this article can contribute to that end it will have more than achieved its purpose.

The reader should not, at least primarily, scan this paper for new results and certainly not for new material. The monuments which are going to be discussed have all been published before. But a mere review of previous publications seems fully justified in this case. The paper represents a partial and preliminary result of work done at Dumbarton Oaks in connection with the "Archives" project,² and the motives which prompted the launching of this project as a whole apply to the particular case of Stobi in a more than ordinary degree. The material at present is unused and unusable. It is widely scattered over many different publications, for the most part periodicals. Only one or two copies of these have been located in the United States.³ Often important features of a building such as frescoes and mosaics are not illustrated and discussed in the same articles or even in the same journals as the structure itself. To assemble and fit together the information on any particular structure is sometimes in itself a piece of research. Moreover, an important part of the literature on this site is written in a language which few scholars read and which, having been artificially adapted to the needs of a technical subject, has been found to present difficulties even to people who speak this language as their native tongue.

The combined effect of these various circumstances is that anybody who wishes to inform himself about Late Antique and Early Christian art and architecture in Stobi has to spend a considerable amount of time over what should be mere preliminaries, and in most cases the student will content himself with consulting one or two of the larger and more accessible publications. This means that only a fraction of the material available in theory is being made use of in practice. To remedy this state of affairs would require a large monograph, which we hope the Yugoslavs will produce one day. Meanwhile we may at least attempt a synopsis of the material so far available.

What is offered here, then, is intended primarily as a guide to previous publications. It is essentially descriptive and analytical. On the other hand I have not been able to refrain altogether from adding opinions, suggestions and criticisms of my own. In doing so I have even departed from the very sound rule that in dealing with architectural monuments one should never

² *Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art*, IX, 4 (March 1941), p. 83 ff.

³ A few articles on Stobi are not available in this country at all, and therefore could not be used in compiling the material for this paper: cf. items marked by an asterisk in Appendix II.

pronounce a judgment on their structural history unless one has had an opportunity to study them on the spot. The reason for this lies in the nature of the work we are doing at Dumbarton Oaks. A systematic study of a given group of monuments over a period of many months gradually produces a kind of intimacy with the material which in its turn leads one to certain convictions as to their history and chronology. This intimacy may be only an illusion and in ordinary times nobody would commit himself in print without having verified his conclusions on the site. It is perhaps a task peculiar to wartime studies in archaeology not only to take stock of material previously published, but also to formulate on the basis of it certain preliminary conclusions, which may at least be a challenge to a more definitive investigation in the future. What I have added are working hypotheses, nothing more. If they should be of help in the future to establish the history of art and architecture in Stobi, they will have amply justified themselves even if most of the individual results should have to be dropped or at least revised. A preliminary attempt to digest the scattered material is preferable to neglecting it completely.

II. TOPOGRAPHY

Stobi lies in the Vardar valley famous in modern as in ancient times as a gateway and strategic link between the Aegean Sea and the Danube valley. The town is situated about 100 miles north of Salonika on the right bank of the river in an angle formed by the rivers Vardar and Cerna, the latter joining the former at this point. In relation to Salonika, Stobi had the position typical of a hinterland city, but through the Cerna valley it also had direct access to the Via Egnatia, which, coming from the Adriatic coast, passed Heraklea (Bitolj) and Edessa (Vodena) some 50 miles to the south on its way to Salonika. At Stobi a Roman road connecting the Via Egnatia with the Danube is supposed to have crossed the road coming up from Salonika through the Vardar valley.⁴

The first to mention the existence of ruins at the point where the Cerna joins the Vardar, and the first also to suggest that these ruins should be identified with ancient Stobi, was J. G. von Hahn, who passed through this region on an exploratory journey in 1858.⁵ Three years later L. Heuzey visited

⁴ See Saria, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Stobi. J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, I (1923), p. 270. For this road see also *Archäologische Karte von Jugoslawien*, Blatt "Prilep-Bitolj" (1937), and "Kavadarci" (1938). The sheet containing Stobi apparently has not appeared.

⁵ *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse, XI (1861), part 2, pp. 175, 231-236. Earlier writers, basing their calculations mainly on the Peutinger Tables, had placed Stobi further up on the Cerna River. Cf. W. M. Leake, *Travels in North-*

the ruins and, independently from von Hahn, identified them as Stobi.⁶ Heuzey saw the city walls, as well as some other buildings – none of which can be identified with those subsequently revealed by excavation. In addition, he transcribed several Roman inscriptions. Between Heuzey's visit and the earliest excavations only two visits to Stobi are on record, one by von Hahn in 1863,⁷ and one by von Premerstein and Vulić.⁸ These visits yielded further Classical inscriptions. The first, and apparently somewhat sketchy, excavations were undertaken by German troops during the first World War. Practically all we know about Stobi we owe to the systematic excavations carried on by the National Museum of Belgrade in yearly campaigns between 1924 and 1934. In 1935 the work was taken over by the Prince Paul Museum⁹ and excavations continued for one month each year, presumably until the invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941. The only available literature on the results of the work done during these later years is a report of two pages summarizing a paper which was read by Mano Zissi at the Archaeological Congress in Berlin in 1939.¹⁰

The progress of the work of the National Museum was reported briefly but regularly in the *Godisnjak* of the Royal Serbian Academy and, more elaborately but more intermittently, in *Starinar*. Longer or shorter articles on individual buildings and objects were published by the excavators and some others in *Starinar* as well as in numerous other periodicals. It is from this scattered literature that the present article has been compiled and it thus gives a summary of the investigations carried out up to 1934.¹¹

The city walls, stretches of which have been observed, form an irregular pentagon fitting tightly into the angle between the two rivers. They enclose an area of about 500 × 400 m., but according to Saria¹² the Classical town may have been larger since remains of buildings have been observed on the left bank of the Vardar river. No other information about these buildings is available.

The work of the National Museum was mainly concentrated in the northwest part of the city, where, as the airviews show (figs. 124–126), a

ern Greece (1835), III, pp. 44 f. (see also map at end of volume). A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, III (1848), p. 1058 (with further references).

⁶ *Revue Archéologique*, 1873, II, pp. 25–42. L. Heuzey–H. Daumet, *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine* (1876), pp. 331–338, 458 f.

⁷ *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, XV (1867), 2nd part, p. 1; *ibid.*, XVI (1869), 2nd part, pp. 160, 166.

⁸ *JOAI*, 1903, Beiblatt, cols. 1, 5–10.

⁹ *God.*, 1935, p. 93. *Jugoslovenski Istoriski Časopis*, I (1935), p. 746.

¹⁰ *Bericht über den 6. Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie* (1940), pp. 591–593.

¹¹ See, however, above, footnote 3, for articles which were not accessible to me.

¹² Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Stobi, col. 48.

coherent group of buildings has been excavated. We approach (fig. 125) the city from the west on a road which is supposed to be the one coming from Heraklea.¹³ Before we reach the northwestern city gate we pass a cemetery on the left.¹⁴ The city gate — the only one found so far — is the first building recognizable on the airview. The neighborhood was traditionally called "Porta" even before the gate was found.¹⁵ Entering through this gate we find ourselves in a street some ten meters wide and about sixty-five meters long, with ruins of houses on either side. To the right of the street the terrain declines steeply, and halfway along the street is a stairway branching off from the right sidewalk and leading down to the lower parts of the city. The Roman theater lies in that lower region, its cavea being built into the slope (fig. 126). The street ends in an exedra opening out to the left, while to the right is the entrance to the principal church. The church stretches, at an angle to the street, to the ruins of the theater. The apse in fact almost touches the outer circumference of the cavea. If we pursue our course we find a narrow street issuing from the exedra at the far corner of the church façade. Turning half right it passes several houses and then makes a turn to the left so as to run again in a more or less easterly direction. Further on in this direction (fig. 124) lie two palaces, the sumptuous "Palace of Partenios" and next to it the "Double Apse Building." Nothing is known about any buildings further east, but somewhere to the south is the building complex which has yielded the much-discussed "Synagogue" inscription. Unfortunately all we know about the position of this complex is that it lies in the center of the town between the Episcopal Church and the Roman bridge.¹⁶

These are the principal structures known so far. They will not be discussed in exactly the same order in which we have met them, nor will it be possible to treat them in a chronological order. We shall begin with the big church for the simple reason that we have more information about it than about any other building in Stobi.

III. THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

German troops began excavating the church in 1917 and 1918. They laid bare the chancel and recovered sculptures, paintings and mosaics, most

¹³ *God.*, 1932, p. 211 f.

¹⁴ Cf. Hald, fig. 5. This is either the Classical necropolis mentioned in *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 145, or the Christian necropolis "on a hill west of the town" mentioned in *Godisnjak*, 1932, p. 235 f. Perhaps the two were side by side. In any case the Cemetery Church must also have been nearby (cf. *JOAI*, 1929, p. 42).

¹⁵ Cf. *JOAI*, 1929, p. 44, fig. 25.

¹⁶ *God.*, 1931, p. 232. *Star.*, 1933/34, p. 189.

of which seem to have perished.¹⁷ In 1925 the Belgrade Museum began its excavations; Egger uncovered the general outlines of the basilica without however excavating either the aisles or the narthex.¹⁸ These as well as various annexes were explored in ensuing campaigns which continued at least as late as 1934 when Mano Zissi excavated the north aisle and the adjoining rooms in the north.¹⁹

a. THE GROUND PLAN

The only ground plan available is the one drawn up by Egger after his campaign of 1925.²⁰ This (fig. 127), although apparently correct as far as it goes, is now obsolete; as a glance at one of the more recent airviews shows, many more features have been revealed during the later campaigns. These are the most important details missing in the plan:

1. *The interior arrangement of the narthex.* The narthex when excavated by Saria in 1927 and Petković in 1931 was found to be subdivided into three parts by two marble stylobates which are in line with the stylobates of the nave. Each stylobate carried two columns; only one of the two white marble bases is preserved on each side,²¹ but on the surface of the south stylobate a roughness may be discerned at the point where the second base stood. The columns and capitals were spoils. Fragments of fluted shafts were found in the excavations; Ionic capitals, not uniform in appearance, had been recovered as early as 1924/25. No photographs of these capitals are available, nor is it known whether they carried architraves or arcades.²²

2. *The atrium.* Egger indicates on his plan short stumps of walls flanking the lateral doors of the narthex; those at the south door are at an oblique angle to the narthex wall. Egger assumed that there was over each door a projecting roof which was supported by these walls. But in later excavations these stumps turned out to be parts of porticoes of an atrium which abutted against the west wall of the narthex. The oblique angle of the southern walls finds its explanation in the irregular shape of the atrium which is awkwardly wedged into the triangle between the church and the street north of the church. An airview of 1934 (fig. 124) shows the atrium quite plainly; it might be identical with the "exonarthex in the shape of a

¹⁷ H. Dragendorff, in P. Clemen, *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, II (1919), p. 162 f. For a photograph showing the chancel as it appeared before the excavations of 1925 see *BRGK*, 1925-26, fig. 11.

¹⁸ *JOAI*, 1929, pp. 42-87.

¹⁹ For reports on Saria's excavations of 1926-1928 see *JOAI*, 1933, pp. 112-139, and for Mano Zissi's campaign of 1934 *Star.*, 1935/36, pp. 164-169.

²⁰ *JOAI*, 1929, fig. 26; *Ephem.*, 1929, p. 179, fig. 10.

²¹ *JOAI*, 1933, fig. 44.

²² *JOAI*, 1933, p. 116.

baptistery" which is mentioned in the reports as having been excavated in 1933.²³ But which part of the atrium is supposed to have served as a baptistery is not clear. We have no information regarding the appearance of the atrium, except for a brief remark by Mano Zissi who speaks of lateral arcades.²⁴ These lateral porticoes, as well as one on the west side, may be discerned on the airviews.

3. *The annexes on the north side.* Egger indicates several walls issuing at a right angle from the north wall of the church. These walls belong to a row of three small rooms excavated in 1934 and visible in a sketch plan of the area north of the church in *Starinar*, 1935/36, fig. 20 (our fig. 160). A very narrow room at the west end is followed by a square room and this in turn by a longer and narrower one. Egger's plan omits the doors in the north wall of the church which lead into these rooms; one at the westernmost point of the north aisle leads into the long room, another in the north wall of the narthex gives access to the square room. This square room has doors on all four sides, the western door being the only means of access to the narrow room at the west end, while the southern door leads into a small triangular court which is screened by a wall from the street and the houses north of the basilica. The purpose of these annexes remains uncertain. The excavators found numerous glass fragments, as well as bones and pottery²⁵ and, in the small room to the west, the site of a hearth and two low stone benches with traces of a table between them. These suggest that the room may have served as consignatorium and katechumeneion or else as a place for ritual feasts.²⁶

b. ELEVATION

These are the principal changes and additions which must be borne in mind when using Egger's ground plan. Turning now to the interior arrangement of the church, the level of which, incidentally, is 72cm. below that of the narthex, we find nave and aisles separated by colonnades. Their stylobates, which reach the unusual height of 77cm., consist of a foundation 40cm. high and a top layer of stones taken from the seats of the Roman theater nearby. Three bases remain *in situ* on the north stylobate, one on the southern one.²⁷ Of the column shafts only fragments were found, but

²³ *God.*, 1933, p. 251; *Star.*, 1935/36, p. 164.

²⁴ *Bericht über den 6. Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie* (1940), p. 592.

²⁵ *Star.*, 1935/36, fig. 38.

²⁶ Cf. the annexes of Basilicas A and B in Nea Anchialos, which also have fireplaces. In his report to the Berlin Congress of 1939 (p. 592), Mano Zissi mentions a "katechumenal loggia" which is part of the narthex, and, in addition, "katechumenal rooms with an upper floor." Whether any of these are identical with the north annexes is not clear.

²⁷ *JOAI*, 1929, fig. 28, 1.

Egger identified four complete shafts in the church at nearby Drenovo (a building which, as we shall see, contains a number of spoils from Stobi) as belonging to our basilica. These shafts are 3.80m. high and have a maximum diameter of 60cm., while their diameter just below the top moulding is 50cm.²⁸ Since the large capitals found in the basilica have a lower diameter of between 50 and 53cm., these measurements seem to fit very well.

But much else remains obscure. We do not know whether the columns carried arcades or architraves. Egger is inclined to assume arcades on the analogy of the Basilica of Eski Djuma in Salonika, a building comparable in layout and proportions, but the church of John the Studion in Constantinople, which is also of the same general type as our basilica, has architraves in the lower story. The width of the intercolumniations (1.78m.) is of little help in deciding the question, since the example of the two basilicas in Constantinople and Salonika shows that both arcades and architraves are compatible with intercolumniations of more or less the same width, although those of the Eski Djuma, which are below 2m., may be claimed to correspond more precisely to those in our church. The fact that impostes have been found which can hardly have occupied any other place except that above the capitals in the nave also strengthens the supposition that the colonnades were surmounted by arcades. The apices of the arcades would be 6.90m. above ground level,²⁹ which is only slightly more than the corresponding measurement in the Eski Djuma.

Other problems confront us when we try to reconstruct the galleries. Egger was right in assuming that galleries existed, for he found bases and column shafts smaller in size than those in the nave, as well as numerous impost capitals of corresponding measurements. Of the shafts the longest fragment found was only 0.82m. in height, but Egger estimates their total height as having been about 2.80m. Together with bases and capitals the gallery colonnades would thus have reached a height of 3.32m. However, there is no conclusive evidence for the existence of any staircase leading up to the gallery. Egger and Saria when writing their articles were hoping that the stairs would be found in subsequent excavations. Judging by the later reports this hope has proved vain, but it should be kept in mind that we have no information about what was found in the atrium or in the annexes south of the church, which are dimly discernible on the airviews. Also, as Saria points out, the staircase may have been destroyed when the church, during the last phase of its existence, was reduced to the nave.

²⁸ Filov in describing the architectural details of the Drenovo church in 1923 mentions five column shafts of 3.70m. height and one of 1.98m. height (*Studien zur Kunst des Ostens*, p. 35).

²⁹ Stylobate, 0.77 + base, 0.34 + shaft, 3.80 + capital, ca. 0.75 + impost, ca. 0.35 + radius of arcade, 0.89.

Another problem concerns the reconstruction of the gallery colonnades. The bases which Egger attributes to the galleries have an upper diameter of 0.36m. (although according to *JOAI*, 1929, fig. 28, no. 2, it would be slightly more). Assuming, as one normally would, that there was one column in the gallery to every column of the nave we get an intercolumniation in the galleries of 2.22m. The bases have slots into which the gallery parapet-slabs were inserted. Since these slots are 5cm. deep ³⁰ the average length of these parapets would have to be 2.32m. A number of screen slabs, which, in contradistinction to those of the chancel screen, are decorated on one side only, were attributed both by Egger and by Saria to these gallery parapets (figs. 141–143). The following is a tabulation of the measurements of the more complete specimens among these slabs:

	<i>Length</i>	<i>Height</i>	<i>Thickness</i>
1. <i>JOAI</i> 1929, fig. 51:	2.10	0.80	0.08
2. “ , fig. 52:	?	0.77	0.11
3. “ , figs. 53–54:	?	0.80	0.10
4. <i>JOAI</i> 1933, fig. 51:	2.25	0.73	0.09
5. “ , fig. 52:	1.92	0.75	0.10
6. “ , fig. 53:	2.22	0.75	0.13

None of these slabs seems to have the full length required for the gallery parapets, and although accurate calculations cannot be made on the basis of the material available, one may wonder whether some of these slabs could not have been placed in the intercolumniations of the lower story. Judging by one illustration (*JOAI*, 1929, fig. 28, no. 1) the bases in the lower story also have slots for parapets (though they are not mentioned in the text), and assuming that these slots are 5cm. deep we would get an all-over length of 2.02m. for these supposed parapets, a measurement which would be nearer to the length of some of the shorter slabs.³¹ It will be noted that the screen slabs attributed to the galleries fall into distinct groups regarding decoration ³² and material (some of them being marble and others limestone). But unfortunately these various groupings according to measurements, decoration, and material do not coincide, and no definite conclusions about the location of the various slabs can be reached.

A further problem arises in connection with 16 screen pilasters found by Saria in the course of his excavations (*JOAI*, 1933, figs. 50, 64 and 65). Egger, in a postscript to his article (*JOAI*, 1929, p. 87), had suggested that

³⁰ *JOAI*, 1929, p. 58.

³¹ Parapets in the lower story are supposed to have existed, for instance, in Basilica A at Nea Anchialos. Cf. Sotiriou, *Ephem.*, 1929, p. 28.

³² Nos. 1–3 of the above list, plus *JOAI*, 1933, fig. 54, form a group as against nos. 4–6. Further slabs of the same type as nos. 1–3 were found in 1934 in the north aisle; cf. *Star.*, 1935/36, p. 165.

these pilasters may be the remains of the bannisters of the much-looked-for staircase leading up to the galleries. To this Saria objects (*JOAI*, 1933, p. 120 f.): the pilasters are too numerous — at the time Egger wrote only eight had been found — and moreover the slots on their sides would not fit slanting slabs. Nor can they all have belonged to the chancel screen, again because they are too numerous and also because they were not found in that neighborhood. Saria suggests that they were placed in the galleries. He assumes that to every two intercolumniations in the nave there was only one in the gallery; the places of the intervening columns were taken by our pilasters, which supported the parapet slabs on either side.

The length previously stipulated for the parapet slabs would not be greatly affected by this change in the reconstruction. Since the pilasters are somewhat narrower than the column bases, it would in fact be increased to ca. 2.34m., and the existing slabs which were too short for Egger's reconstruction would certainly be too short for Saria's. Regarding height and thickness of the slabs a glance at our list of measurements shows that they would fit quite well into the slots of the pilasters, which are on the average 86cm. high and 11cm. wide. But we cannot accept Saria's reconstruction without reservations, for such an arrangement would be without parallel in Early Christian architecture. In all cases where galleries are actually preserved, we find their intercolumniations corresponding to those of the nave. But it must be admitted that the discovery of those sixteen small pilasters creates a difficult problem.

There are traces of windows in the shape of column shafts and capitals of oblong cross-section such as are normally used in churches in the Balkans and elsewhere as a central support for a two-arched opening.³³ Egger attributes these windows to the clerestory above the galleries rather than to the aisles, presumably because the capitals, whose maximum extension in depth one would expect to be equal to the thickness of the walls they support, fall short of the known thickness of the outer walls of the aisles.³⁴ According to Egger, it is doubtful whether the aisles had any windows at all. According to Mano Zissi, however, this question was subsequently solved in the affirmative, for in 1934 three columns of elliptical cross-section, and capitals belonging to them, were found in the north aisle near the north wall, one of them near the door leading to the most easterly of the north annexes.³⁵ Unfortunately Mano Zissi does not give the measurements of his findings and it therefore cannot be judged whether he bases his assumption

³³ *JOAI*, 1929, figs. 56, 57; 1933, fig. 58.

³⁴ 84cm. as against 97cm. Cf. *JOAI*, 1929, pp. 46, 60 f.

³⁵ *Star.*, 1935/36, p. 166. Another elliptical column was found in the debris covering the floor of the annex itself, 1.50m. above ground; *ibid.*, p. 168.

on anything more than the fact that the columns were found in the aisles. Fragments of the clerestory windows may well have landed there when the upper structure collapsed. On the other hand it should be remembered that neither the church of John the Studion nor the Eski Djuma have windows in the clerestory. They do have windows in the outer walls both of the aisles and of the galleries, and we may wonder whether, contrary to Egger's opinion, the same arrangement could not have existed in our basilica.

Egger found some larger window columns (ht. 2.35m.) along with imposts of greater depth (1.32m.) and these he attributes to windows in the apse.³⁶ According to him there were three such windows. Saria, although he attributes to the apse an additional column of similar height (2.23m.) as well as correspondingly large imposts — number not specified — all found in the area between the basilica and the Roman theater (i.e., immediately behind the apse), speaks of only one window in the apse.³⁷ Possibly he has in mind a consecutive row of arched openings.

C. THE CRYPT

Of all the problems connected with the reconstruction of the church none is more intricate and more vexing than that which arises from a study of the architectural remnants inside the apse. Situated as these remnants are on a much lower level than the chancel floor they indicate the existence of a confessio or crypt, of which Egger attempted a verbal reconstruction.³⁸ Although he warns that final conclusions cannot be reached without further investigations on the spot, nobody after him seems to have returned to this problem — at least until 1934. Egger's reconstruction was neither accepted nor refuted. Indeed it is impossible to do either without excavating the lower levels below the chancel. But it is possible to formulate the problem more precisely than Egger has done.

What Egger found is this: the floor of the apse lies 1.75m. below that of the chancel which in its turn is raised 24cm. above the nave. On the sunken floor of the apse (fig. 128) are remains of a semicircular wall which is concentric with the apse wall and separated from it by an interval of 1m. As may be seen on the ground plan this semicircular wall has two lateral niches on the inside (width 96cm.; lower end 12cm. above floor level), while its center opens as a colonnade of which the three bases remain.³⁹ To the

³⁶ *JOAI*, 1929, p. 61. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 46: thickness of apse wall, 1.33m.

³⁷ *JOAI*, 1933, p. 126.

³⁸ *JOAI*, 1929, p. 62 ff.

³⁹ *JOAI*, 1929, fig. 28, 3-5.

west the space enclosed by the smaller semicircle is screened by a straight wall, again with a niche which is twelve cm. from the floor, and with openings on either side of this niche. One of these openings is narrower than the other (0.95 as against 1.25m.).

In the last phase of the existence of the basilica the arrangement was simple. Access to the crypt was gained by means of two ramps of earth leading down from the chancel into the annular corridor. Proceeding in this corridor the space inside the smaller semicircle could be entered through the colonnade. Once inside this semicircle the visitor found his further progress blocked, for the two openings in the west wall were sealed, at least to the level of the chancel. But this is not the original state. The ramps are obviously a late addition, since they cover traces of wall paintings both on the outer and the inner semicircular wall. This means that originally there must have been a different method of access to the crypt. Furthermore the openings in the straight wall originally reached down to the floor level, and must therefore have been doors leading to another room, presumably on much the same level, to the west.

Egger remarks briefly (p. 66) that in the original building, which he admits needs further investigation, *confessio* and chancel were nearly on the same level. Presumably his reason for saying so is the existence of the two doors just mentioned which would be senseless unless a space more or less on the same level had existed in front of the apse. But is this a sufficient reason for saying that the entire chancel was on the same low level? Such an arrangement would be unique in the entire range of Early Christian architecture. It would mean that the chancel which, as we saw, is at present 24cm. above the nave, was originally ($1.75 - 0.24 =$) 1.51m. below it.⁴⁰ Approaching through the nave the visitor would find himself confronted with a sort of open pit, somewhat reminiscent of the sunken space in front of the present *confessio* in St. Peter's in Rome, where, however, this arrangement is a result of a 16th century reconstruction. Are we to assume that altar and priests' benches were situated in this pit? If so, the half-hidden priests must have offered an odd sight to the worshippers in the nave. If not, where were they placed? Surely they and the altar cannot all have been assembled in the narrow semicircle of the apse, in a second story above the crypt, a possibility which Egger himself excluded because his reconstruction of the superstructure within the apse (of which more later) places this second story as much as 2.50m. above the present level of the nave.

⁴⁰ This conclusion could be avoided only by assuming that the floor level of the nave was also originally lower. But against this is the level of the narthex, with its presumably original mosaics, which is even now 72cm. above the level of the nave. If we assume that the floor of the nave was originally lower, the drop from the narthex becomes even greater.

The two doors in the straight wall of the confessio need signify nothing more than the existence of some kind of a room west of it, at about the same level.⁴¹ Unless Egger has other reasons to support his belief there seems to be no justification for assuming that this room was the chancel and not merely a little chamber or corridor beneath the chancel. In other words, we suggest that the level of the chancel was always more or less the same as it is now, except that it may have been raised at one time by 15cm. This at least is the interpretation which one would be inclined to put on Egger's remark (p. 67) that a stone slab was found on the east side of the southern priests' bench, 15cm. below the present floor *in an earlier terrazzo*. Supposing then that the original floor of the chancel was 15cm. below the present one and supposing that the confessio was already in existence at that time, the hypothetical chamber west of the two doors would still retain a height of $(1.75 - 0.15 =) 1.60\text{m.}$ ⁴²

The two doors would establish a communication between the semicircular space and the supposed chamber (which incidentally would come to lie exactly beneath the present altar) while the outer ambulatory would be the means of access from the chancel to the crypt. How the descent was made before the earth ramps existed remains obscure. There is room for steps between the priests' benches and the northeast and southeast corners of the nave, but if such steps existed they should have been revealed even by the excavations carried out so far, while the aforementioned slab, 15cm. below the present level, also presents something of an obstacle since it lies at a point where one would expect the steps to reach nearly the bottom level (cf. Egger's ground plan).

Further excavations in the chancel should be carried out with these questions in mind: Where did the two openings in the west wall of the confessio lead? What was the means of access to the confessio before the ramps existed? Finally, what evidence is there of an earlier floor in the chancel?

Egger reconstructs tentatively the superstructure of the confessio. The height of the superstructure obviously depends on the reconstruction of the semicircular colonnade. In addition to the three bases found *in situ* there was a fragment of a shaft broken at top and bottom and computed by Egger to have been about 2.40m. high when complete; there was also

⁴¹ Another possible explanation is that these doors were the original means of access from the church level, with steps leading down to them from the chancel. But in that case the ambulatory would have had no functional purpose at all.

⁴² Sotiriou, in *Ephemeris*, 1929, p. 179, suggests that the confessio is altogether a later addition. If there should really turn out to be an earlier floor 15cm. below the present one, it would be tempting to suggest that the raising of the floor was connected with a subsequent installation of the confessio.

an impost capital. The column with base and capital would stand 2.82m. high. To this Egger adds 43cm. for an arch and 1m. for the wall above the arch, thus reaching a total height of 4.25m. for the confessio from floor to ceiling. In other words, the ceiling of the confessio would be $(4.25 - 1.75 =)$ 2.50m. above the present floor level of the chancel.

So great a difference in level is somewhat difficult to accept. According to Egger the shaft fragment has a diameter of 35cm. at the top as against 41cm. at the bottom. Since this latter measurement comes fairly near to the diameter of the bases one would assume the shaft to have been correctly attributed to this colonnade. But the same cannot be said of the impost capital. With a lower measurement of 25×20.5 cm. it would seem to be too small for the shaft. Presumably it was the shape of this capital which induced Egger to reconstruct arcades above the columns. Once this capital is disregarded we are free to assume a much lower superstructure. 20 or 25cm. for a capital and an about equal height for some kind of architrave are all that is needed, and the height of the confessio can thus be reduced by more than 1m. (i.e. to a little more than 3m.). The platform above the confessio would in this case be $(3m. - 1.75m. =)$ 1.25m. above the level of the chancel. But as long as we do not know more about the ground plan of the confessio it would be futile to indulge in further speculations as to its superstructure and particularly as to the question of the accessibility of the raised platform.⁴³

It is obvious that the Stobi crypt, once its reconstruction is properly established, may offer very valuable material for the early history of the crypt and more particularly the annular crypt. The presence of the ambulatory certainly would suggest that the whole layout was designed with a view to facilitating circulation.⁴⁴ Conversely one might expect a certain amount of

⁴³ Egger has found, in addition to the fragments already mentioned, fragments of five shafts of varying height, four capitals (*JOAI*, 1929, fig. 60) and three bases (*ibid.*, fig. 28, no. 6). These he attributes to a balustrade crowning the front of the platform. While this suggestion seems to imply that he regards the platform as having been accessible, he does not tell us how the difference in level (which according to him was 2.50m. from the present chancel floor, or 4.25m. from what he presumes to have been the original chancel floor) could have been bridged. A somewhat lower platform may well have been accessible by steps. The priests' benches in the chancel need not be taken as a sign of an inaccessible high floor level in the apse. Sotiriou has already pointed out that in Early Christian churches in the Balkans the synthronos is quite frequently placed in the chancel rather than in the apse (*Ephem.*, 1929, p. 124, note 3).

⁴⁴ Saria (*BRGK*, 1925/26, p. 103, and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Stobi, col. 53) is the only one to mention a saint's tomb in the confessio. Since no other excavator has observed this feature we may wonder whether Saria's statement is not based on inference rather than archaeological data. It is of course *a priori* likely that there was such a tomb. For the increasing frequency of relics in city and cathedral churches, and the increasingly close connection between altar and tomb since the 4th century, see F. Wieland, *Altar und Altargrab der christ-*

help in the task of reconstruction from other extant crypts of early date; but a really convincing parallel cannot be found. There is one crypt which for historical and geographical reasons should throw some light on our problem, namely that of the church of H. Dimitrios in Salonika,⁴⁵ but the structural history of this building is anything but clear, and if those students who assume that its original apse lay further to the east are right, the crypt may not even have been planned from the outset to lie, like ours, beneath the apse. In its present state the Salonika example has in common with the Stobi crypt the fact that its central space is also a hollow beneath the apse; that it has an ambulatory (which however in this case is angular), and a niched west wall. It appears — and this may be important for Stobi — that access to the crypt was gained through steps at the western ends of the ambulatory, though the information on this point is by no means clear.⁴⁶ But the wall to the west which screens the semicircular space from the chancel is solid and without openings. The absence of any such openings is strange, for in this case there exists another room further to the west (though on a higher level), a small cruciform space exactly beneath the altar with a marble theca in the center in which a “dedicational flask” was found.⁴⁷ Finally, the floor level of this crypt lies 5m. below that of the nave and the floor of the apse was not raised at all, although there is a slight rise in level as one enters from the nave into the “crossing.”

A number of churches in North Africa are interesting insofar as they show the entire space beneath the apse hollowed out to accommodate the crypt. The crypts in Benian,⁴⁸ Castiglione,⁴⁹ and presumably that in Thugga⁵⁰ are of this type. In Benian, judging by the section in Gsell's monograph, the crypt lies about 1.75m. below the chancel just as in Stobi. In all three cases the presence of the crypt made it necessary to raise the floor of the apse above that of the nave. In Thugga the exact difference in level is not known, in Benian it is 1.50m. and in Castiglione as much as 2.10m. Both in Benian and Thugga two parallel flights of steps led from the nave up to the apse. In Castiglione, however, where the difference in

lichen Kirchen im 4. Jahrhundert (1912), passim; cf. especially p. 144: “Im 6. Jahrhundert war ein Altar ohne Reliquien eine seltene Ausnahme geworden” — at least in the West. — See also Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I, pp. 527 ff., 557 ff.

⁴⁵ G. Sotiriou, in *Archaiologikon Deltion*, 1918, Parartema, p. 34 ff.; *Ephemeris*, 1929, p. 211 f.

⁴⁶ *Deltion*, p. 40; *Ephem.*, p. 212.

⁴⁷ *Deltion*, p. 33 and figs. 48–50.

⁴⁸ S. Gsell, *Fouilles de Bénian* (1899), p. 39 f.

⁴⁹ S. Gsell, *Les Monuments Antiques de l'Algérie*, II (1901), p. 187 f.

⁵⁰ *Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Ravenna 1932* (1934), p. 406 f. Photograph on p. 408. No ground plan. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. Krautheimer.

level is greatest, there seems to be no evidence of such stairs. Gsell assumes that they existed and he even indicates them in his ground plan. According to him they were made of wood. The problem of the accessibility of the apse is somewhat similar here and in Stobi.

These African examples give us an idea of the difference in the levels of chancel and apse which may be caused by crypts of this type. They show that if we are right in attributing to the superstructure of our crypt a height of ca. 3m. the resulting difference in the levels of chancel and apse would be nothing more than normal, but beyond this they do not contribute to the solution of our problem. They are much simpler in layout and lack that elaborate system of entrances and exits which our crypt obviously possessed. There are no ambulatories and in all three cases access to the crypt was gained from the side by openings cut into the semicircle of the apse. In Thugga, judging by the photographs, the openings were reached through steps at the east end of the aisle (or both aisles?), while in Benian and Castiglione they connect with side rooms which in their turn are accessible from the street outside (and in Castiglione also from the south aisle). On the west side where the Stobi crypt has four entrances and exits these crypts, with the exception of Castiglione, have none. In Castiglione the west wall of the crypt is pierced and a passageway led down from the nave to this opening (cf. our suggestion in footnote 41 above).

Real annular crypts, of which the one at S. Pancrazio in Rome seems to be the earliest datable example,⁵¹ have their entrances at either end of the ambulatory. But the west wall is always solid, except for *fenestellae confessionis*, and the comparison with the Stobi crypt is only of limited validity. The two basilicas in Nicopolis are comparable to ours in having semicircular ambulatories beneath the raised floor of the apse, but these ambulatories are level with the chancel floor and there are no subterranean spaces at all.⁵²

d. CHURCH FURNITURE

The various pieces of church furniture found in the chancel cannot be discussed fruitfully as long as there is so much uncertainty regarding the exact phase in the history of the building to which the present chancel floor belongs.

⁵¹ 625–638 A.D. Cf. R. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, I, p. 164, note 2. — The only other example of definitely pre-Carolingian date is that of S. Crisogono in Rome; cf. M. Mesnard, *La Basilique de St. Chrysogone à Rome*, 1935, p. 63 f.; Krautheimer, *Corpus Bas. Christ.*, I, p. 144 ff. For the Carolingian examples in Rome see Krautheimer, *Art Bulletin*, 1942, p. 15 ff.

⁵² *Ephemeris*, 1929, pp. 201, 206.

We have already mentioned a stone slab found in an earlier terrazzo, 15cm. below the present floor, on the east side of the south synthronos. The slab has a round hole and is regarded by Egger as the base of a stoup or candlestick.⁵³

All the other pieces of furniture — altar with canopy, synthronos, and (?) credence tables⁵⁴ — must apparently be related to the present level of the chancel.

Bases of the chancel screen are indicated on Egger's ground plan and are also visible in one of Saria's photographs (*BRGK*, 1925/26, fig. 11). Egger believes that only the red marble bases on the west side⁵⁵ and what remains of slabs, pillars, and top mouldings⁵⁶ belong to the first building period. The bases on the north and south sides were according to him constructed later with the help of spoils which include on either side a seat from the theater. If Egger is right in drawing this distinction it would be tempting to suggest that the north and south arms date from a period when the floor of the chancel was raised, but raised only so slightly that the west arm could be taken over without change.⁵⁷

Chancel screens of similar layout have been found in many churches in the Balkans⁵⁸ and are in fact a normal feature of Early Christian churches in that region. This one however was, according to Egger, later turned into a regular iconostasis, that is to say, a two-story screen which cut right across the nave from one stylobate to the other. His principal evidence for this statement is a stone block which was placed with part of its lower surface on the north stylobate, exactly in line with the west arm of the screen. Apparently this happened at a late period since the steps from the theater which originally covered the stylobate were then already removed. Egger thinks that there must have been a corresponding block on the south stylobate. He connects this piece of evidence with fragments of obviously late sculptures found in front of the apse, and with allegedly similar pieces in the church at Drenovo, and thus gains the material with which to reconstruct his late iconostasis. If Egger's hypothesis is right we would here have an interesting example of an ordinary Early Christian chancel enclo-

⁵³ *JOAI*, 1929, p. 67.

⁵⁴ For these see *ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵⁵ *JOAI*, 1929, fig. 28, no. 8.

⁵⁶ *JOAI*, 1929, figs. 67-76; O. Wulff-W. F. Volbach, *Altchristliche Bildwerke*, III, 1923, p. 9, no. 6839.

⁵⁷ See above, note 42, for a possible raising of the chancel floor by 15cm. But see also below, p. 100, for chancel screen in Basilica B in Nea Anchialos. There, too, the bases in the west are more elaborately carved than those N. and S., without there being any suggestion of different building periods.

⁵⁸ *Ephemeris*, 1929, p. 221 ff.

sure later turned into an iconostasis. But three points must be raised in this connection:

1. The layout of the bases is similar to that in Basilica B at Nea Anchialos. There too the west arm, which is more elaborately carved, cuts right across the nave, in spite of the fact that north and south arms also exist, and yet they all seem to be of one and the same period. Probably at Stobi the extension of the west arm is due to an afterthought. But the example at Nea Anchialos would suggest that such an extension did not, as Egger thinks, necessarily imply the removal of the north and south arms, the bases of which were in fact found by him still *in situ*. If, however, north and south arms still existed the screen could hardly be called a proper iconostasis.⁵⁹

2. Most of the fragments which Egger uses to reconstruct his late two-story iconostasis were found in the church at Drenovo, not far from Stobi. Filov, who first published these pieces at a time when the Stobi church was not yet fully known, already suggested that some of them belonged to an iconostasis.⁶⁰ Among the pieces excavated in the chancel of Stobi there may be some which bear out this connection but it must be said that the stylistic resemblance between Egger's figure 77 — unfortunately the only illustration of any of the late carvings found in the chancel⁶¹ — and the Drenovo carvings is not so close as to prove conclusively that the Drenovo sculptures are part of the Stobi screen.

3. Finally it should be noted that according to Kondakov⁶² the Drenovo sculptures are considerably later than either Filov or Egger had suggested. Instead of eighth and ninth century parallels he quotes Byzantine ivory carvings of the tenth to twelfth centuries.

Egger's reconstruction of the ambo⁶³ is much less controversial and seems to have been confirmed by additional finds subsequently made by Saria.⁶⁴ Among other pieces Saria mentions a large fragment of the steps of the ambo found by him in the debris above the theater, but the illustration (*BRGK*, 1925/26) to which he refers for this piece actually shows the platform of the ambo (our fig. 144).⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Cf. Sotiriou's reconstruction, *Ephemeris*, 1929, p. 224, fig. 53.

⁶⁰ *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens*, 1923, p. 36.

⁶¹ Mano Zissi illustrates a fragment with a lion found in the north aisle and attributes it to the iconostasis; cf. *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 167 and fig. 37.

⁶² *Ocherki i zametki*, 1929, p. 131 f.

⁶³ *JOAI*, 1929, p. 73 ff. and Beilage.

⁶⁴ *JOAI*, 1933, p. 127.

⁶⁵ For the shape of the ambo Egger (p. 77) refers to that of the Church of St. Titus in Gortyna (A. Orlandos, in *Epet. Het. Byz. Spoud.* III, 1926, pp. 312 f.; with further parallels). See also A. Orlandos, in *Byzantion*, V, 1929/30, p. 221 and Pl. 34 ("forme . . . en usage surtout au VI^e siècle").

E. SCULPTURAL DECORATION AND DATE OF STRUCTURE

Before we turn to the most interesting feature of the church, namely the decorative sculptures which were found in great numbers, it will be advisable to inquire into the general arguments concerning the date of the church. The sculptures can be discussed more profitably when seen in the light of this problem. There is remarkably little disagreement among scholars as to the date of the Stobi church. Egger's reasoning has been generally accepted⁶⁶ and no one now would doubt that the church was erected around 500 A.D.

In order to conclude the argument we would have to know the dates of Bishop Philip, who, as we learn from the inscription over the west door,⁶⁷ was the founder of the church. As it is, the inscription can be of value only through the evidence afforded by the shape of the letters and the formula 'Εμμανουήλ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θ(εός). For this formula Egger quotes parallels in Syria and in the Balkans, none of which, however, are securely dated.⁶⁸

As far as ground plan and general layout are concerned, Egger is right in comparing our basilica to the church of John the Studion in Constantinople, the Eski Djuma in Salonika, and Basilica A in Nea Anchialos. All these buildings are generally accepted as fifth century structures; the Studion church is safely dated in the year 463 A.D.

The re-use of spoils from the theater only supplies a rather vague *terminus post quem* for the church. Since these spoils are used not only for door jambs and columns,⁶⁹ but also in the foundations of the apse⁷⁰ and in the stylobates of the nave colonnades⁷¹ they can hardly be later additions, but must have been available when the church was first built. If Saria is right in saying that the earth excavated in digging the foundations of the church was dumped in the theater it would be further proof that the theater was no longer in use by the time the church was built.⁷² But it will be seen from our discussion of the date of the abandonment of the theater (cf. Appendix I) that this only leads to the general conclusion that the church was built during the fifth century at the earliest.

But Egger's principal arguments concerning the date of the church

⁶⁶ Cf. Egger in *JOAI*, 1929, p. 80 ff.; Saria in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Stobi, col. 53; Sotiriou, *Ephem.*, 1929, p. 179; Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 1936, p. 77 ff., 83; Mano Zissi, *BIAB*, 1936, p. 292 and *Bericht über den 6. Internationalen Kongress . . . 1939*, p. 592.

⁶⁷ *JOAI*, 1929, pp. 79 ff., 87; *JOAI*, 1933, p. 132 f.

⁶⁸ Except perhaps W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, no. 318: (?) 579 A.D.

⁶⁹ *JOAI*, 1933, p. 132; *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 139.

⁷⁰ *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 139.

⁷¹ *JOAI*, 1929, p. 46.

⁷² *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 83.

are based on the style of the sculptural decoration, to which we must now direct our attention. The evidence is easily accessible, since it is almost completely published in the two main articles on the church by Egger and Saria.⁷³

The sculptural decoration is remarkably homogeneous in style in spite of a great amount of variety in detail. Thus many features of the large capitals which must have belonged to the nave colonnades recur in the Ionic impost capitals attributed to the columns in the galleries (compare e.g. figs. 130 and 131 for acanthus and "feathered" volutes). These in turn link up with the imposts attributed to the nave (compare e.g. *JOAI*, 1929, figs. 49 and 35) and even more strikingly with the fragments of screens attributed to the chancel enclosure (compare the acanthus of figs. 131, 132, and 140, or the crisp stylized scroll work of figs. 137 and 138). There is also similarity between the decoration of these screen fragments and that of the ambo (*JOAI*, 1929, fig. 67 and *ibid.*, fig. 87; cf. also the bead and reel and row of leaves in *JOAI*, 1929, fig. 74 and *JOAI*, 1933, fig. 60; and Egger's remark, *JOAI*, 1929, p. 73, that the base on the west side of the chancel screen has the same shape and size as the base of the ambo). The acanthus of the ambo platform (fig. 144) is exactly the same as that on one of the parapets attributed to the galleries (fig. 143). We get the impression that one and the same atelier was employed in the execution not only of practically all the church furniture but also of structural features such as capitals and imposts.⁷⁴ The inference is that the carvings were made for the church (i.e. that they are not spoils taken from some other building) and that they originated together with the structure.

Among the capitals ascribed to the nave colonnades⁷⁵ Egger regards

⁷³ *JOAI*, 1929, p. 42 ff.; 1933, p. 112 ff. We have only to add *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, II (1919), p. 159 (a drawing showing another side of the capital, *JOAI*, 1929, fig. 33) and several reproductions in *Starinar*, 1935/36: p. 166 and figs. 31–33 (another capital of the series attributed to the nave colonnades, found in 1934 in the north aisle; now in Belgrade Museum; the side not reproduced shows a ram and a bull back to back and, in the corner between these and the stags of fig. 31, a dove spreading its wings); p. 167, fig. 37 — cf. above, footnote 61; p. 156, figs. 16–19 (a sculptured pyramid — top part of a canopy? — found in the exedra in front of the church; see below, p. 116). — In the same article in *Starinar* a number of other pieces are mentioned but not reproduced: p. 167 ff., a small openwork capital and two small Ionic capitals found in west room of N. annex and a pilaster capital found in central room of N. annex; p. 165, parapet slabs of the same type as *JOAI*, 1929, figs. 51–53, found in north aisle (see above, footnote 32).

⁷⁴ There are only a few pieces not belonging to this large group: the pilaster capitals, *JOAI*, 1929, figs. 61–64 and 1933, fig. 48 (= our figs. 211–215) — for these cf. Appendix I; the decoration on the front of the lintel which crowned the main entrance to the nave (*JOAI*, 1929, figs. 88, 91); and, presumably, the previously mentioned fragments which Egger attributes to the iconostasis (cf. above, p. 99 f.).

⁷⁵ *JOAI*, 1929, p. 47 ff.; *JOAI*, 1933, p. 124 f.; see also above, footnote 73.

the specimens reproduced in his figures 29 and 30 (our fig. 129) as particularly valuable evidence for dating since they conform to what he calls the "Theodosian type" of the fifth century, even though they represent according to him a comparatively late version of this type.⁷⁶ Kautzsch rightly points out that the term "Theodosian" should be reserved for capitals with the "feingezahnter" acanthus and that Egger's two pieces are ordinary composite capitals; he quotes parallels in Constantinople which, in his view, date from around 500 A.D.⁷⁷ Saria's excavations, however, have brought to light a capital⁷⁸ (fig. 130) which conforms more or less to the "Theodosian type" as defined by Kautzsch and Jerphanion,⁷⁹ even though it has between the volutes, instead of the usual row of leaves, an egg and dart frieze, a variant which occurs sometimes in the Adriatic region.⁸⁰ The chronological point of reference provided for the Theodosian capital by the Church of John the Studion (463 A.D.), where the most splendid examples of the type occur, is therefore of some value for our church after all.

The majority of the capitals attributed to the nave are decorated with figures of animals and birds. Egger, referring to his figure 33, says that the bull protomes represent a revival of a Hellenistic prototype, and such revivals are, according to him, typical of the advanced fifth century. Actually the whole series of animal and bird capitals is admirably suited for enabling us to establish the date of the sculptural decoration of our church and consequently that of the church itself. These capitals are included in our list of animal and bird capitals, published elsewhere in the present volume.⁸¹ We have no illustrations of two of them (nos. 95 and 96 of the Appendix quoted in footnote 81). The others are all classified under what we have called "Capital Type I." That is to say, they belong to the type of animal or bird capital without horizontal division lines, a type which flourished contemporaneously with the "Theodosian" capital in the second half of the fifth century. Indeed most of the Stobi pieces have the "feingezahnter" acanthus which is a hallmark of that class of capitals.⁸² But — and this is important — within "Type I" we found it necessary to classify the majority of the Stobi pieces as exceptions. Only one (Appendix no. 66) shows the customary arrangement with the animals (or in this case

⁷⁶ *JOAI*, 1929, p. 82.

⁷⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 78.

⁷⁸ *JOAI*, 1933, fig. 55.

⁷⁹ Kautzsch, *loc. cit.*, p. 115 ff.; Jerphanion, *La Voix des Monuments*, 1930, p. 100 ff.

⁸⁰ Jerphanion, *loc. cit.*, p. 105 f. and Pl. 22, no. 6; W. A. Neumann, *Der Dom von Parenzo*, 1902, Pl. 12.

⁸¹ "The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 3, Appendix, p. 60 ff., nos. 30, 66, 74, 75, 76, 95, 96; figs. 73, 97, 104, 105, 106.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

birds) placed symmetrically at the four corners of the capital, as it were, as a functional feature supporting the abacus. In all the other capitals the animals play havoc with the structural scheme. Large free-style figures of peacocks spread themselves in the zone above the leaves. Stags and rams use this zone as a happy playing ground (no. 30 in the Appendix referred to above). Here is an artist who is in rebellion against a conventional pattern which has (to him) lost its meaning. He is in rebellion against the accepted order of things and tries to do something new and original. This rebellion not only throws a glimmer of light on his personality, but it also seems to suggest that the work was not done at a time when "Type I" was still new and exciting. Rather one would place it near the end of the period during which the type flourished, that is to say near the end of the fifth century. It may be noted in passing that the acanthus although "feingezahnt" is not identical with that of the Studion capitals of 463. On the other hand the artist shows no influence of "Type II," the capital with horizontal division line and busts far apart, which belongs largely to the first half of the sixth century;⁸³ although this type was apparently never very popular in the Balkans it is doubtful whether at a time much later than 500 A.D. the earlier type would still have been used in any part of the Mediterranean world.

An even greater originality than that in the nave capitals manifests itself in the series of Ionic impost capitals which Egger has attributed to the galleries.⁸⁴ The type of capital is widespread, especially in the Balkans, during the fifth and sixth centuries. But there are no exact parallels for the decoration on our specimens. Both Egger (*JOAI*, 1929, p. 82) and Kautzsch (loc. cit., p. 83) single out the capital shown in Egger's figure 49 (*JOAI*, 1929) as affording a valuable chronological clue, for in shape it comes close to the "cubic" capital of Justinian's period. There are other features in these capitals which call to mind carvings of the Justinian era.⁸⁵ The plain but delightfully crisp scroll between the volutes of the capital in our figure 137 (*JOAI*, 1929, fig. 41) has reached the degree of abstraction which we know from capitals of Justinian (e.g. Kautzsch, no. 558, Pl. 34; our fig. 139). There is nothing left to remind us that this is by origin a vegetable ornament. The decorative effect is produced by the simple geom-

⁸³ Ibid., p. 19.

⁸⁴ *JOAI*, 1929, p. 52 ff.; 1933, p. 126; Kautzsch, loc. cit., p. 171 f.

⁸⁵ Thus the capital, *JOAI*, 1929, figs. 46, 47 (our fig. 132), shows two symmetrical branches with half of their leaves bulging out and forming a kind of raised medallion in the center, a feature well known from capitals in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, although other capitals which show it may be of pre-Justinian date. Cf. Kautzsch, p. 169 f., nos. 547, 548; p. 195, no. 644.

etry of a spiral figure whose smooth and fluent course, unhampered by any naturalistic detail, the eye follows with ease. Deeply undercut and sharp-edged as they are, these figures stand out against the dark background not as a foliate branch, however strongly stylized, but as one continuous spiral pattern, a piece of flowing geometry which should be seen as a whole. The devaluation of the individual plant motif for the sake of the uniform geometric effect is even more obvious in other capitals (such as *JOAI*, 1929, fig. 48 and 1933, fig. 61; our fig. 131) where the ornamental effect is due to a division of the whole front of the impost into decorated and undecorated parts. The basis of such compositions is the block itself, which has been divided up into "smooth" and "rough" panels. The vegetable elements are of value only in their allotted place, and, within that place, only as parts of a geometric pattern. Taken individually they are meaningless. A glance at the imposts in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Kautzsch, figs. 558–560; our fig. 139) shows that such inseparability of the leaves either from each other or from the block on which they are engraved belongs to the very essence of Justinian architectural ornament.

Even in the most delicate and lace-like of fifth century carvings the individual leaf still retains its identity; it is still a separate object fastened to the block: witness for instance the above-mentioned "Theodosian" capitals in the church of John the Studion. There a leaf could be taken out without cutting into the block itself and without seriously disturbing the stability of the other leaves or the composition as a whole. In Justinian capitals any such attempt would mean an ugly gash in the body of the capital itself and an interruption in the continuous flow of the pattern.

Not all the imposts and impost capitals in Stobi bear ornament of this "integrated" kind. The foliate scrolls on the slanted surfaces of some of the capitals (see *JOAI*, 1929, figs. 35–39, 41, 46, 49; our figs. 133, 134, 137) are clearly recognizable as vegetable forms and could easily be detached without hurting the block itself. In essence these are still fifth century forms. Obviously the series must be dated according to its most advanced characteristics. It is not surprising that earlier forms should have been retained side by side with them. Stobi is a provincial place and the craftsmen who carved the ornaments were not in the vanguard of the artistic movement of their period. Egger has drawn attention to a certain crudeness in the execution which is as much a characteristic of these carvings as their freshness and indifference to accepted conventions. This is provincial work, though provincial in the best sense of the word, and therefore the survival of earlier forms would not be surprising even at a comparatively advanced date.

This raises the question whether the whole series should not be dated as late as the Justinian period. But it must be borne in mind that the change from what we have described as typical fifth century ornament to ornament such as we find in Hagia Sophia is probably the result of a gradual evolution. The phases of this evolution we do not yet see clearly. There are in the metropolitan region no dated monuments of the sixty years between the building of the church of John the Studion and that of the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, and it is precisely during that period and in that region that the style of Justinian ornament must have taken shape. Indeed this style represents an organic continuation of a development which is already noticeable in the carvings of the Studion itself and features which, for lack of dated monuments of the intervening decades and a consequent lack of finer chronological distinctions, we are wont to call Justinian, probably came to the fore during these sixty years. The Stobi carvings in fact seem to reflect such a development, though on a provincial level. Those of their features which to us suggest a Justinian date may well have been current in Constantinople ten or twenty years before that emperor's rule began.

There is one more impost capital which should be discussed, that shown in our figure 135 (*JOAI*, 1929, fig. 45). Here one solitary leaf of "feingezahnter" acanthus stands out in high relief against a background of branches carved in shallow relief. In shape and execution, as well as in its slanting position, the projecting leaf recalls the "fold-over" of wind-blown acanthus leaves which occur on certain Corinthian capitals of the late fifth and early sixth centuries (Kautzsch, Pls. 28, 29; our fig. 136). Our artist simply copied the inflated tip of one such leaf with its bulging, convex surface and placed it against a background of foliage which in the case of the Corinthian capitals is provided by the receding parts of the same leaf. Isolated as it is in Stobi, the leaf-top loses all its meaning and looks more like a bug crawling aimlessly over the surface of the impost.

This piece of free imaginative design again suggests an artist indifferent to conventions and, more than that, an almost playful, humorous attitude towards them. If there were such a thing as a parody of an ornamental design our capital would have a claim to this title. But apart from throwing light on the individual character of the Stobi style this impost, through its dependence on the "wind-blown" capitals, also helps to date the carvings in our church. For during the Early Christian period the wind-blown acanthus seems to have flourished only for a short time. Capitals in Kalat Seman (Kautzsch, no. 460) and Ravenna (Kautzsch, nos. 469, 470) are the two fixed points in its chronology. The former apparently

date from the period between 460 and 490 A.D.,⁸⁶ the latter are partly before 526 A.D. and partly of 549 A.D. We can safely say that the leaf-top of our impost is closer in appearance to the Ravennatic examples than to the Syrian ones, and since some of the examples in Ravenna bear the monogram of Theodoric we have clear proof that the shape which the designer of our impost imitated existed before Justinian's reign. For Theodoric died the year before Justinian's reign began.

If Egger (p. 83) mentions one of the screen slabs in S. Vitale in Ravenna in connection with the ornament on the chancel screen (*JOAI*, 1929, figs. 67, 73) this is merely one more observation which might lead us to link up our church with the art of Justinian. Other observations of this kind could no doubt be made.⁸⁷ We are obviously near this period but, as was shown above, we need not be in it. Let us survey all the chronological evidence which the analysis of the sculptural decoration has yielded:

1. "Theodosian" capital (nave): Current during second half of fifth century, although apparently still possible in sixth.⁸⁸
2. Animal capitals (nave): Late specimens of type current in second half of fifth century. No influence of sixth century type.
3. Ionic impost capitals (galleries): Ornament reminiscent of the art of Justinian, but in one case where we can lay our hands on the model employed, the model is known to have existed in the first quarter of the sixth century.
4. Chancel screen: Framework reminiscent of screen in S. Vitale.

Point 2 argues against a date too far advanced in the sixth century. Point 3 which suggests the first quarter of the sixth century seems to bring us nearest to the truth. In reaching this conclusion we find ourselves in harmony with all those who have written on the subject before. The decoration of the Stobi church presents, although in provincial guise, the art of the Constantinopolitan sphere in the period immediately preceding the Golden Age which Justinian inaugurated.

f. MOSAICS AND FRESCOES

It only remains for us to comment on the paintings and mosaics with which the church must have been lavishly adorned. There were mosaic pavements in the south aisle⁸⁹ and in the narthex.⁹⁰ Both were of a type

⁸⁶ H. W. Beyer, *Der Syrische Kirchenbau*, 1925, p. 71.

⁸⁷ See also above, footnote 65.

⁸⁸ Cf. Parenzo, Jerphanion, loc. cit., p. 117; W. A. Neumann, *Der Dom von Parenzo*, 1902, Pl. 12. For a degenerate "Theodosian" capital, apparently of mid-6th century date, see *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 217, fig. 8 (= Kautzsch, no. 276, p. 94).

⁸⁹ *JOAI*, 1933, p. 115 f.

⁹⁰ *JOAI*, 1933, p. 116 ff.; *BIAB*, 1936, p. 228 ff.

which often occurs in Early Christian churches in the Balkans; the ornament consisted of a series of panels with geometric patterns or animal portraits surrounded by a guilloche border. But only those in the central part of the narthex were in sufficiently good condition to permit publication (figs. 145–147, 210).⁹¹ The geometric motifs employed are all well known from other Late Antique and Early Christian pavements. The occurrence of these motifs does not in itself permit us to date our mosaics with any precision. To do this we would have to know more about the stylistic changes which these particular patterns underwent as the centuries passed. The stylistic evolution of the animal panels on the other hand can be more easily ascertained. But since in the course of our survey of the buildings at Stobi we shall meet with other pavements showing this motif we might better postpone our judgment concerning the style of these panels until we have a chance to compare them with other examples. Suffice it to say at this point that the animal panels in the Episcopal Church⁹² seem to find their natural place in that phase in the evolution of the motif which may be assigned to the earlier part of the sixth century. There is no reason therefore why at least the narthex pavement should not be roughly contemporaneous with the structure itself. This is also the opinion of Mano Zissi.⁹³

There were wall mosaics at least in the apse, for tesserae of glass and colored stone have been found.⁹⁴ In addition there are traces of frescoes on the walls and in the niches of the confessio and in the apse. Some of these imitate marble revetment.⁹⁵

The walls of the nave were apparently decorated with frescoes. At the northwest corner fragments were found which showed traces of “draperies simulées” so familiar from Roman churches of the early Middle Ages. There was also a fragmentary head of a saint⁹⁶ (fig. 153) and, on the pattern of churches like Santa Maria Antiqua and S. Saba in Rome, one would like to reconstruct a row of saints standing *en face* above these draperies. It would be interesting indeed to find in the Balkans a composition common in eighth century Rome. However, to the excavator the style of the drapery seems to have suggested a more advanced date than did that of the saint’s

⁹¹ JOAI, 1933, figs. 45, 46; BIAB, 1936, figs. 173–176.

⁹² JOAI, 1933, fig. 47; BIAB, 1936, figs. 167, 177–179; our figs. 145, 146, 210. See below, footnote 258.

⁹³ BIAB, 1936, p. 292.

⁹⁴ *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, II, p. 163; JOAI, 1929, p. 66; 1933, p. 119 f.

⁹⁵ JOAI, 1929, pp. 62, 66.

⁹⁶ JOAI, 1933, fig. 49. The same head is apparently referred to in *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 245: the colors are greenish ochre and dark gray-blue.

head. The latter he dates in the sixth century or later.⁹⁷ We have so little in the way of monumental painting in the Balkans in the early Middle Ages that it is impossible to adduce for this head any comparative material from the same region. In Rome a head which combines, as this head does, certain remnants of an impressionistic technique, such as the bright light on the ridge of the nose and in the eye and the shadow beneath the mouth, with a general regularity and stiffness would most likely belong to the late seventh or early eighth century; the sideways glance of the eye in an otherwise purely frontal view of the face is also characteristic of that period.⁹⁸ But the development of painting in Rome during the seventh and eighth centuries takes place under very particular circumstances and the Roman chronology does not necessarily apply to monuments in the Balkans. Heads like those from S. Saba (early eighth century)⁹⁹ do seem to possess a general kinship with the head from Stobi, but a final judgment cannot be reached without studying the original.

There were also frescoes in the north and south aisles¹⁰⁰ but the most important remains of the wall decoration are those which have come to light in the narthex. Only the decoration of the lower parts of the north and west walls was found *in situ*. It consists of an imitation of a series of panels with marble intarsia, a reconstructed copy of which has been published (*Starinar*, 1932, p. 86 f.; our fig. 151). No date has so far been suggested for this work. The ornamental motifs which appear in these panels are very common, but the whole wall looks like a provincial attempt to imitate a decoration such as we find in the apse of the Cathedral of Parenzo (543–553 A.D.).¹⁰¹ The affinity with the mosaic pavement on the floor immediately adjoining the wall¹⁰² also might suggest that the date is not much later than the sixth century.

In the debris of the narthex a number of very remarkable fresco fragments were found. The excavators regard them as having dropped from the ceiling, but it is difficult to see why they should not have belonged to the upper parts of the walls. Some of these fragments have been published (*Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 245 ff.) but the reproductions are not clear enough to permit a final judgment as to their style. One fragment shows a head

⁹⁷ *JOAI*, 1933, p. 119.

⁹⁸ E. Kitzinger, *Römische Malerei vom Beginn des 7. bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Diss., 1934), *passim*, especially pp. 16, 24.

⁹⁹ Wilpert, *Römische Mosaiken und Malereien*, 1916, Pls. 169, 170, 171, nos. 1, 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 167; *JOAI*, 1933, p. 119 and fig. 66 (fragment with an inscription).

¹⁰¹ H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, II (1934), Pl. 124a.

¹⁰² E.g., *BIAB*, 1936, fig. 176.

in life-size (ibid. fig. 2, our fig. 150). The figures which appear on the other fragments are smaller. Mano Zissi suggests that the decoration contained life-size figures of saints as well as smaller figures and compositions. Certainly the fragments shown in his figures 5 and 6 (our figs. 148, 152) seem to have belonged to scenes, even if Mano Zissi's interpretation of the fragment shown in figure 148 as part of an Ascension scene is questionable. In any case the analogy with that scene in the Rabula Gospels of 586 A.D. would be of too general a nature to permit any conclusion as to the date of our fragment. But there can be no doubt that at least some of the heads are executed in a bolder, more impressionistic technique than the head in the nave. The detailed color description which Mano Zissi gives of all the fragments bears out this contention. He mentions catacomb frescoes for comparison (*Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 248), and a head like that of figure 3 (our fig. 149), where the features are indicated by lights and shadows rather than outlines, certainly has an amazingly Classical character. If the painted marble imitations in the narthex suggested a date earlier than that of the frescoes in the nave, so do some of these figure fragments. But whether they can all be ascribed to the first period of the church's existence cannot be decided so long as we have so little comparative material.

On the other hand, the very fact that we have so few remains of monumental painting of pre-Iconoclastic date in the Byzantine sphere lends these few scattered remnants an importance to which they could not otherwise lay claim. An "impressionistic" head like that shown in figure 149, appearing as it does side by side with more rigid and conventionalized, more typically "Byzantine," figures on the walls of a Greek church which we know did not exist before the early sixth century, opens up new vistas on the stylistic trends in Byzantine art of the sixth or perhaps seventh century. Macedonia, which has supplied so much material with which to reconstruct the pictorial style of the twelfth and thirteen centuries in the capital, now offers us a valuable document of Byzantine fresco painting in pre-Iconoclastic times. The Stobi church, through its architecture a welcome addition to a group whose main representatives are the great basilicas of Constantinople and Salonika, through its sculpture an invaluable document of Justinian style in the making, also deserves — if only *faute de mieux* — a distinguished place in the history of Byzantine monumental painting.

IV. CITY WALL, GATE AND STREETS

The Episcopal Church, with its undisputed date, will prove a valuable point of reference when it comes to establishing the chronology of other remains of ancient Stobi. Before turning to individual structures, let us

once more approach the town from outside and get acquainted with the wall, the gate, and the streets.

a. THE CITY WALL

The wall was observed as early as 1861 long before any excavation had begun.¹⁰³ Practically the entire wall was then traceable above ground. Premierstein and Vulic in 1902 observed one portion in excellent condition near the railway bridge across the Cerna.¹⁰⁴ Parts of the wall in that neighborhood are indicated in solid black on the plans by Hald (loc. cit. fig. 5), who speaks of a stretch of 150m. length north of the railway guardhouse, and Egger (*JOAI*, 1929, fig. 25). The Yugoslav excavators twice investigated small portions of the wall, once in 1926 a section of 10m. length¹⁰⁵ and again in 1932, when a trial dig revealed part of the northern city wall.¹⁰⁶

The section explored in 1926 was 2.40m. in thickness; the height remained undetermined. In the trial dig of 1932 a complicated system of fortifications was brought to light, with several rows of defensive walls decreasing in height towards the outer side; also counterforts and escarps. Premierstein and Vulic were the only ones to observe a "projecting tower." Heuzey in 1861 saw no tower.

The date proposed by Heuzey — a Byzantine fortress erected after the Gothic invasion of 479 — has been accepted by more recent observers.¹⁰⁷ It has already been mentioned that according to Saria the Classical town may have been larger and may have included territory on the east bank of the Vardar river.

b. THE NORTHWEST GATE

The gate in the northwest section of the wall was excavated in the years 1932 and 1933. A detailed description has been published by Mano Zissi (*Starinar*, 1935-36, p. 145 ff.), but as usual with architectural remains, the smallest sketch plan would be of greater help than these several pages of text. The article is accompanied by a number of photographs, which, however, bear no captions, and relating them to the text is not always an easy matter. Publication of a plan was promised but apparently was never carried out. A rough idea of the layout may be obtained from one of the airviews (fig. 125).

¹⁰³ L. Heuzey, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1873, II, p. 34; L. Heuzey-H. Daumet, *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine* (1876), p. 332 (nearly identical texts).

¹⁰⁴ *JOAI*, 1903, Beiblatt, col. 6.

¹⁰⁵ *God.*, 1926, p. 311.

¹⁰⁶ *God.*, 1932, p. 235.

¹⁰⁷ Saria: *God.*, 1926, p. 311 and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Stobi, col. 48-51. Mano Zissi: *God.*, 1932, p. 235; *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 145.

The gate consisted of two parts, an outer part (here called propylon) and an inner one. The inner gate is formed by the profiled corners of the city wall turning inwards. The stone threshold (3.25m. wide) is preserved. It was flanked by two columns. The existence of doors is proved by the impressions which their pivots have left on the threshold, as well as by the charred remains of wooden beams found on the floor. The gate was covered by an arch surmounted on the east side by a heavy marble cornice, parts of which have been found. The elevation, except for the columns flanking the threshold, seems somewhat similar to that of the first Porta Aurea (Vardar gate) in Salonika, which is regarded as being of Flavian date.¹⁰⁸

The propylon is a rectangular space west of the inner gate. It is formed by projecting walls which cut the walls of the inner gate at right angles and by another wall which runs parallel to that of the inner gate, a high parapet ("banak") profiled with a marble socket which has an opening in the center. The illustration shown in figure 1 (*Starinar*, 1935-36) appears to be a view of the southern part of this parapet, while figure 3 (*Starinar*, 1935-36; our fig. 158) shows the opening with part of the threshold still *in situ*. The threshold has incisions for cart wheels and square holes at the edges which served to hold the pivots of the door. Whether or not the opening was roofed cannot be decided, but bricks, tiles and charred wood found immediately to the west point to the existence of an arch covered with tiles.

The distance between outer and inner gate is given as 8.85m.¹⁰⁹ The rectangular space between them was not roofed but it seems to have contained a number of structures which are only described in general terms.

Analogies for double gates are not lacking, although in many cases the second gate is inside not outside the line of the wall.¹¹⁰ One wonders whether in the case of the Stobi gate the propylon is an isolated projection or whether it is part of that outer defense system of which traces were revealed in the northern part of the city wall (see above, p. 111). The arrangement in that case would be somewhat similar to that of the Golden Gate in Constantinople. But there the propylon at least in its present layout has been found to be Mediaeval, and the walls which cut across from the outer to the inner gate are also late.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Heuzey-Daumet, loc. cit., Pl. 22. O. Tafrahi, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, 1913, p. 103 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 150, note 1. But there is also another measurement of 4m. — the distance from the propylon to the "banak" in front of the inner gate.

¹¹⁰ E.g., Th. Wiegand, *Palmyra* (1932), Pl. 11.

¹¹¹ B. Meyer, in *Mnemosynon Th. Wiegand*, 1938, pp. 87 ff.

Salonika seems to have had a number of gates with propyla which were not linked up with a second wall. The second Porta Aurea, which was, according to Tafrali, part of the city wall built by Theodosius, was described as a double gate in 1831.¹¹² The Porta Litéa has survived to give us an idea of the appearance of such a gate¹¹³ although large parts of it were rebuilt (if not actually built) at a later period. The two eastern city gates must have been double gates by the tenth century at the latest.¹¹⁴ A definitely early example of a projecting double gate is the Main Gate of Dura.¹¹⁵ But as long as we know so little about the Stobi gate it would be futile to try to make detailed comparisons.

There is a certain amount of internal evidence for dating the gate. A large number of Greek and Roman tomb inscriptions, apparently from the nearby necropole, were used as building material.¹¹⁶ These, Mano Zissi suggests,¹¹⁷ were brought here when the walls were rebuilt after the invasion of the Goths (479 A.D.). Elsewhere he ascribes the gate to the period of Theodosius¹¹⁸ or more precisely Theodosius II,¹¹⁹ without giving his reasons. The Classical spoils would certainly suggest a post-Roman date. According to Saria seats from the theater were also used as building material and the threshold of the propylon (fig. 158) is a door jamb from the *scenae frons* of the theater.¹²⁰ Unless these pieces were inserted subsequently into an existing structure the gate must have been built in the fifth century or later (cf. Appendix I).

There is however one difficulty. The gate has suffered very heavily from an earthquake and probably also from hostile assaults. The Classical tombstones which were used as building material were found tumbled over, the debris of the inner gate reaches a height of 2m., its arch had collapsed towards the east, while other fragments of the inner gate were found in the area of the propylon. Miscellaneous objects were found buried in the debris. A coin of Valentinian III came to light in the debris of the arch of the inner gate.¹²¹ Other fourth century coins (Julian, Constans, Valentinian III) were found in the area between the propylon and the inner gate.¹²²

¹¹² Tafrali, loc. cit., p. 106.

¹¹³ Tafrali, loc. cit., fig. 11 and Pl. XXI.

¹¹⁴ Tafrali, loc. cit., p. 96.

¹¹⁵ *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of the VIIth and VIIIth Seasons of Work*, 1939, p. 4 ff.

¹¹⁶ *Starinar*, 1933/34, pp. 180 ff., figs. 14-18; 1935/36, p. 148, figs. 4, 5.

¹¹⁷ *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 145.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹¹⁹ *Bericht über den 6. Internationalen Kongress . . .* p. 592.

¹²⁰ *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 139.

¹²¹ *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 146.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

On the pavement of the street east of the inner gate, in fact exactly in front of the gate, was found, buried beneath a layer of debris from the gate, a human skeleton as well as bones of cattle and remains of bronze, iron and charred wood. In the immediate neighborhood were coins of the fourth century. Mano Zissi suggests that someone was caught by the collapsing structure while trying to flee with his possessions from an earthquake.¹²³

Indeed everything points to such a catastrophe, but judging by all the coin finds this catastrophe took place in the fourth century, while the building is supposed not to have been erected until the fifth century. It is quite possible, and in fact likely, that there was an earlier gate at this point. The cemetery which seems to have been in this neighborhood in Classical times, was probably near some exit from the town. Part of the havoc which we have described may have been caused by the collapse, in the fourth century, of this early structure. But it is difficult to see how it was possible to erect a new gate in the fifth century without first removing the debris, especially when some of it lay in the street in front of the gate. On the other hand it is equally hard to believe that there never was another gate at this point after the fourth century, and the presence of spoils from the cemetery and the theater, as well as a large vessel with a cross on it which was found in the northwest corner of the gate, directly contradicts such an assumption.

The problem cannot be solved on the basis of the existing excavation reports. No difficulty seems to have suggested itself to the excavator, since he describes the facts without drawing attention to their conflicting implications.

C. THE STREETS

The street leading from the northwest gate to the Episcopal Church was excavated in 1933.¹²⁴ The length of this street including the exedra in front of the church is 78m., its width, between the sidewalks, is 4.85m. Each sidewalk is 2.85m. wide.¹²⁵ The diameter of the exedra is 13.90m. Both street and exedra were paved with slabs and the street was mended with gravel. The sidewalks, which are slightly raised and paved with slabs, are provided with colonnades. Though many of the column bases are still *in situ* there is a gap on the north side of the street where later structures have intruded on what should be the area of the colonnades. The colon-

¹²³ *God.*, 1933, p. 271; *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 146 f.

¹²⁴ *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 150 ff.

¹²⁵ For a compilation of comparable measurements in other Greek and Roman towns, see E. Kühn, "Antinoopolis" (Diss. Leipzig, 1913), p. 30 f., and A. von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen* (1924), p. 82.

nade is continued, with columns of larger diameter, into the semicircular exedra which opens on the north side of the street, opposite the Episcopal Church (fig. 159).¹²⁶ The columns themselves are broken and scattered, especially in the area near the gate. Near the columns in the street Ionic capitals and flat impost capitals were found, the latter mostly without decoration, or with a cross in relief. The capitals found in the exedra were apparently more varied; they were either cubic or flat. Apart from Ionic capitals and an impost capital with a cross in relief there were also Corinthian capitals, a fragment with dolphins and fishes, and a fragment of an impost with grapevine ornament and a dolphin's tail.

The colonnades were reinforced — according to Mano Zissi at a later date — by pillars. In the street we find one pillar after every two columns. In the semicircle of the exedra there are three pillars on the east side and one on the west side. These pillars are of stone in the lower part while the upper part is made of brick. Remains of brick arches found in the excavations suggest that the columns carried arcades, and according to Mano Zissi the porticoes were vaulted.

South of the street the terrain declines and this decline becomes steeper as one approaches the church. The floor of the church itself was raised artificially so as to be level with the street, but the houses south of the street have their foundations on a much lower level. Their upper story, when seen from the street, must have given the appearance of a ground floor. Not far from the gate two columns of elliptical cross section — i.e., the type usually employed for windows — were found. They are apparently the only traces we have of the superstructure of these houses. On the south side of the street, half-way between gate and church, is a stairway which leads down into the lower part of the town. The upper part of this stairway was in line with the sidewalk and was apparently vaulted.

Two Classical votive monuments found in the middle of the street served in early Byzantine times (according to Mano Zissi) as bases for Imperial busts. A fragment of a bust found in front of the church¹²⁷ perhaps belongs to one of these pedestals. Mano Zissi also draws a connection, though only a tentative one, between two large stone blocks which were found in the center of the exedra and two fragments of an inscription in the church at Drenovo which Egger had previously interpreted as coming from the pedestal of an equestrian statue of the Elder Theodosius, the father of the Emperor Theodosius I. Egger had suggested that this statue stood in Stobi where Theodosius I may have erected it during one of his visits (378 or

¹²⁶ Cf. airviews and *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 152 ff., figs. 9, 12-15.

¹²⁷ *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 150, fig. 7.

380 rather than 388 A.D.).¹²⁸ Mano Zissi, going a step further, suggests that the two blocks in the center of the exedra formed the plinth of this monument. But since he describes the two blocks as coming from the theater it seems doubtful whether they could have been placed in their present position as early as 380 A.D. Perhaps further excavations in Stobi will bring to light some other public square in which the statue of Theodosius may have been placed.

A rather enigmatic stone object of pyramidal shape with ornaments in relief (figs. 154-157), which was found in the exedra, is according to Mano Zissi part of a canopy or ambo removed from its original place in the Episcopal Church.¹²⁹ He regards the style as too advanced for the object to be contemporary with the original sculptures of the Church and suggests a date in the late sixth or seventh century for the carving.

Mano Zissi gives no opinion as to the date when the colonnaded street and the exedra were first laid out. He confines himself to the suggestion that the reinforcement of the porticoes through pillars took place at the time when the Church was built (i.e. around 500 A.D.),¹³⁰ but he gives no reason for this suggestion. That the layout of the street and the exedra must have preceded the building of the Church a glance at the airview will show (fig. 125). No architect would have planned an atrium of so awkward a shape unless it were to bring his church into relation with an already existing street and exedra. The orientation of the Church itself looks like a compromise between the prescribed orientation towards the east and conformity to an existing urbanistic plan. This means that the street and the exedra were built before 500 A.D.

On the other hand seats from the theater were used as spoils in the very foundations of the colonnades¹³¹ just as they were used for the stylobates in the Church. We have already mentioned capitals decorated with crosses, and it should also be remembered that in all the numerous examples of porticoed streets which we know from the Roman period the columns carry architraves, not arcades. Diocletian's palace in Spalato is a well-known textbook example for the introduction of arches in Roman colonnades and even there the great majority of porticoes still have architraves.

Bearing in mind these various data we would have to assume that the

¹²⁸ R. Egger, "Der Erste Theodosius," in *Byzantion*, V, 1929, p. 9 ff. and p. 30 (fig.). N. Vulić, in *Spomenik of the Royal Serbian Academy*, LXXI (1931), p. 66. The inscription says that the statue was erected "opposite. . ." . According to Egger the word denoting the locality is illegible. Vulić reads *πύλῃσιν*.

¹²⁹ *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 156, figs. 16-19; cf. above, footnote 73.

¹³⁰ *Bericht über den 6. Internationalen Kongress . . .* p. 592.

¹³¹ *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 139.

porticoes and the exedra were built between some time in the fourth and the late fifth century. But since the presence of pillars makes it necessary to reckon with two building periods, it is perhaps more plausible to connect the spoils from the theater, the capitals with crosses, and the arches above the columns with a secondary building process which may well have been, as Mano Zissi suggests, contemporary with the erection of the Church. It would mean that this secondary process amounted to a rebuilding *ex fundamentis*, but on the other hand we would then be free to push the date of the original planning of street and exedra back to the second and third centuries, a period during which so many cities in the Roman Empire were given their "piano regolatore" with colonnaded streets and monumental squares and exedrae.¹³²

We saw that the northwest gate, although rebuilt at one time with Classical spoils, apparently had a Roman forerunner, and we now find that the same seems to apply to the street which leads from the gate to the Church.

Little need be said of the continuation of the street northeast of the Episcopal Church. This area appears on a sketch plan (*Starinar*, 1935/36, fig. 20; our fig. 160). The street and the adjoining houses were explored in 1934¹³³ but the apsed room of the house north of the street (see figs. 160 and 161) appears to be identical with one already explored in 1925–1926.¹³⁴ At least the description given at the time of that room and of its position relative to the Church would suggest this. The room was at first thought to be the baptistery of the Church, an error which was however soon corrected.

The street, which is without porticoes and altogether less pretentious than the one we have just left, declines gently as the distance from the Church increases. The houses each have an apsed room; that of the house

¹³² *Timgad*: founded by Trajan (A. Ballu, *Guide Illustré de Timgad*, 2nd edition, no date, p. 6).

Gerasa: city plan of the first century, certainly before 75 A.D. Date of porticoes unknown, perhaps last quarter of 1st century (C. H. Kraeling (editor), *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*, 1938, p. 41 f.).

Palmyra: first colonnades (Rue de Damas) built 110 A.D. Town plan, 150–273 A.D. (D. Schlumberger, in *Berytus*, II, 1935, p. 160).

Antinoë: founded by Hadrian (Kühn, loc. cit., p. 30 ff.: see *ibid.* for Alexandria).

On the other hand we also know that cities did not cease to have porticoes in Byzantine times:

Ephesos, Arkadiane: 395–408 A.D. (J. Keil, *Ephesos, ein Führer*, 1915, p. 43 f.).

Constantinople (cf. J. Ebersolt, *Monuments d'architecture byzantine*, 1934, p. 177, note 165).

Salonika (O. Tafrali, loc. cit., p. 143 and Pl. XXIII, 2; note arcades!).

¹³³ *Starinar*, 1935/36, pp. 159 ff.

¹³⁴ *God.*, 1925, p. 325; 1926, p. 310. *BRGK*, 1925/26, p. 104. *JOAI*, 1929, p. 45.

north of the street on the above-mentioned sketch plan was according to Mano Zissi an open court as no debris or ruins were found inside. On the analogy of other examples, with which we shall presently become acquainted, he assumes that the apse itself, with its semicircular niches, was a basin (fig. 161).¹³⁵

In the house south of the street, beneath the original debris, small glass tesserae were found which belonged to a wall mosaic.¹³⁶ One of the houses contained an elaborate drainage system which, judging by the large number of sea shells found in it, was used for dyeing textiles. In the same house other instruments pertaining to the textile industry were found.¹³⁷

Mano Zissi does not suggest a date for these houses. He merely remarks that they were in secondary use and that they are built of inferior materials. Saria in 1926 had expressed the belief that the apsed room then explored by him was of more recent date than the Episcopal Church.¹³⁸

The principal interest of these houses lies in the light they throw on the living conditions of what must have been ordinary tradesmen's families in a Byzantine town. With their apsed rooms and interior courts they look like small-scale imitations of rich men's palaces, of which we shall now see an example.

V. THE PALACE

This residence, much larger in dimensions, and much more luxurious in character, lies further to the east. Excavated in the years 1927 to 1930, it has been published twice by B. N. Nestorović.¹³⁹ The building is usually referred to as the "Palace" or also as the "Palace of Partenos" because a bronze seal bearing that name was found in one of the rooms.

a. STRUCTURE

The ground plan of this structure (fig. 162) forms a rectangle 57m. long and 42m. wide. Here again the terrain declines from north to south (that is towards the valleys of the Vardar and Cerna rivers) with the result that the street to the north of the building is level with the (hypothetical) upper floor.¹⁴⁰ The walls in the north part of the building are standing to a height of 3m., while to the south they are hardly 1m. above ground.

The most remarkable feature of this palace is the way in which two

¹³⁵ *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 159, fig. 23.

¹³⁶ *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 162; *BIAB*, 1936, p. 278.

¹³⁷ *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 162, fig. 28.

¹³⁸ *BRGK*, 1925/26, p. 104.

¹³⁹ *Starinar*, 1931, pp. 109-114; *BIAB*, 1936, pp. 173-183.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. longitudinal section in *BIAB*, 1936, fig. 122 (wrong caption). Our fig. 164.

completely self-contained complexes of different size have been fitted together so as to form one architectural unit of simple rectangular shape. The layout of the larger complex repeats itself, roughly, in the smaller one. Both are L-shaped, each is centered around a peristyle with colonnades on two sides and solid walls on the other two. Each peristyle contains a basin, and the wall above the basin is decorated with niches. On two sides of the peristyle we find, in both cases, elegant reception rooms, most of them paved with mosaics or opus sectile, some also distinguished by an apse or other architectural features. The only difference between the large and the small complex, apart from the size of the rooms and the number of side-chambers, lies in the fact that the former possesses what the excavator describes as an "atrium."

There is, at least on the ground floor (which alone remains), no communication between the two complexes, although, according to the excavator, they are undoubtedly of one and the same period.¹⁴¹ It has been suggested that the smaller complex was reserved for the women.¹⁴²

The large peristyle (fig. 163) has its columns raised on a high stylobate.¹⁴³ The marble shafts are spoils, the differences in their height being equalized through bases of different size. All the capitals seem to be uniform, and they are of a very unusual shape¹⁴⁴ (fig. 166). In Nestorović's reconstruction (fig. 164) these columns carry an architrave but no reason for this is given in the text. Above the basin on the south wall were seven niches originally decorated with glass mosaics and framed by small columns of green marble with Ionic capitals and bases of white marble (fig. 165). The basin itself, 9.40×4.10 m. in size, has a revetment of white marble, and the eight twisted and fluted pedestals which appear on the reconstruction are likewise of white marble.¹⁴⁵ On either side are two smaller and much shallower basins, 1.15m. in width, and further along the east and west walls of the peristyle are two low platforms (a, a on plan) which are described as parterres for flowers. The space inside the colonnades is paved with irregular pieces of marble, "almost a kind of opus sectile." The floors of the porticoes are covered with mosaic¹⁴⁶ (figs. 163, 170, 171).

The four rooms north of the peristyle apparently served as a setting for social functions. Room no. 1 is distinguished only by a bench along three

¹⁴¹ *Starinar*, 1931, pp. 109, 112.

¹⁴² *BIAB*, 1936, p. 175.

¹⁴³ *BIAB*, 1936, figs. 107-116.

¹⁴⁴ *BIAB*, 1936, fig. 116.

¹⁴⁵ *BIAB*, 1936, fig. 112.

¹⁴⁶ *BIAB*, 1936, fig. 109; *Starinar*, 1931, pp. 111 f., figs. 2 (North portico), 3 (E. or W. portico).

of its sides. But no. 2 has an elaborate entrance formed by semicircular steps of white marble, an opus sectile floor with white ornaments and, against the back wall, a pedestal with four columns. It is thought that this room may have been a library. Room 3 has a mosaic floor with geometric ornament surrounded by vine with foliage, and Room 4 again an opus sectile floor of marble.¹⁴⁷

The largest room is the one opening out from the peristyle to the west. It has a marble floor, remains of marble incrustation on the lower parts of the walls¹⁴⁸ and frescoes in the upper parts.¹⁴⁹ The room has an apse on the west side which, judging by the thickness of its walls and the buttresses supporting it from the back, must have been vaulted. In the room near entrance C were drains and mangers for horses or cattle.

We now turn to the small peristyle (figs. 167-169). There the columns are not re-used. They are all of the same size and material (green stone similar to granite) and carry imposts also of the same material. The imposts are decorated on the short sides with crosses and rosettes. Since the length of these imposts corresponds to the depth of the walls, Nestorović reconstructs these colonnades with arcades.¹⁵⁰ Fragments of brick arches were actually found in this region.

It has been suggested that some of the numerous Classical statues found in this building had their places beneath the arches of the small peristyle. Two bases and a sculptured head with a laurel wreath were found there.¹⁵¹ Other statues are supposed to have adorned the niches above the basin in the large peristyle.¹⁵² The small peristyle also had a back wall with a basin and seven niches (figs. 168, 169). This time the niches are carved out of solid stone, the same green stone which was used for the columns. Originally the floor of the basin lay 1m. below the level of the peristyle, though it was subsequently raised.¹⁵³

A double door divided by a column carrying two arches led from the small peristyle to an apsed room with an opus sectile floor.¹⁵⁴ A larger room (c on fig. 162) lies south of the peristyle. Part of this room is occupied by

¹⁴⁷ *God.*, 1929, p. 232; *Starinar*, 1931, p. 111.

¹⁴⁸ *God.*, 1928, p. 190; *Starinar*, 1931, p. 111; *BIAB*, 1936, p. 175.

¹⁴⁹ *BIAB*, 1936, p. 175. In *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 244, fig. 1, Mano Zissi published one of several fragments of frescoes with geometric motifs, which were found in a layer of debris of the collapsed upper structure. It is not clear whether these fragments are identical with the frescoes mentioned by Nestorović.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. longitudinal section of small peristyle in *BIAB*, 1936, fig. 121 (caption wrong). Our fig. 167.

¹⁵¹ *God.*, 1930, p. 189.

¹⁵² *Starinar*, 1931, p. 110; 1937, p. 12.

¹⁵³ *God.*, 1930, p. 189.

¹⁵⁴ *Star.*, 1931, p. 113, fig. 5.

a platform which is 40cm. high and paved with stone slabs. The part not occupied by the platform is covered with a mosaic floor.¹⁵⁵ In this room were remains of a marble table with raised edges.¹⁵⁶

Nestorović believes that the building had an upper story, both to the north and to the south of the large peristyle.¹⁵⁷ His reasons are the following:

1. A number of colonnettes of windows were found, some in the atrium near entrance A.

2. The standing walls differ in thickness from fragments of collapsed walls which were found in the excavations.

3. There are no living rooms on the ground floor.

The fact that the walls on either side of the large peristyle are particularly thick suggests to Nestorović that there were in the upper story two separate complexes, one north, the other south of the large peristyle with exterior galleries as their only connection. There were no traces of stairs. Possibly they were made of wood; there are beam holes in one of the rooms near the "atrium."

It has been observed above that according to the excavators the building dates largely from one period. Only the walls indicated on the plan (fig. 162) by hatched lines are regarded as later additions. The original walls were built of stone — mostly pieces of irregular shape — and many Classical spoils (shafts of columns, friezes and capitals) were used.¹⁵⁸ "Roman" brick was used for the arches. In the later additions we find what is described as "Byzantine building technique" and "Byzantine brick."¹⁵⁹

b. DATE SUGGESTED BY STRUCTURAL FEATURES

These terms used by the excavator are too vague to permit any conclusion as to the date of the structure or of the later additions. The Yugoslav archaeologists all seem to agree that the building must date from the fifth century,¹⁶⁰ but Nestorović is the only one to argue the case in some detail. He sees Syrian influence in the plan, and this he takes as proof that the

¹⁵⁵ *Star.*, 1931, p. 113, fig. 4. Our fig. 172.

¹⁵⁶ *God.*, 1930, p. 189.

¹⁵⁷ *BIAB*, 1936, fig. 122 = our fig. 164. Cf. above, footnote 140.

¹⁵⁸ Saria in an appendix to his article on the Episcopal Church published five Classical inscriptions which served as building material in the Palace: *JOAI*, 1933, p. 136 ff., nos. 6, 10–13 and figs. 67, 69. For no. 12 see also below, footnote 171.

¹⁵⁹ *Starinar*, 1931, p. 114.

¹⁶⁰ Petkovic, *God.*, 1928, p. 220; *Starinar*, 1937, p. 12.

Saria, *JOAI*, 1930, p. 65 ("pre-Justinian").

Nestorović, *BIAB*, 1936, p. 183.

Mano Zissi, *BIAB*, 1936, p. 290 f. (on mosaics).

building must be later than the fourth century, since during the fourth century Byzantine palaces were based on a Roman plan.¹⁶¹ On the other hand what he calls the Byzantine character is not yet fully developed and this to him indicates a date earlier than the seventh century.

According to Nestorović the essential characteristic through which the plan of our palace differs from the Roman house plan is the absence of an axial disposition of vestibule, atrium and peristyle, and the arrangement of reception rooms around the peristyle rather than the atrium. It is this latter feature which he regards as typical of Syrian houses, and Syrian houses also very often have a second story split into two halves by an open courtyard. Now it is true that our palace has little in common with the Roman town house as we know it from Pompeii (the atrium alone, if indeed it is an atrium, would have to be ascribed to Roman influence; the room so described does not, however, conform to any normal type of Roman atrium). But whether the peristyle type is specifically or even predominantly Syrian is another question. Its ancestor is the Hellenistic house.¹⁶² Although the "Pompeian" house developed on partially different lines there are Roman villas as far west as Hungary and Tunis which show the rooms arranged as a solid block around the peristyle.¹⁶³ Nestorović's argument does not suffice to determine either the regional source or the date of our plan. It must, however, be admitted that now, as a result of recent finds in Antioch¹⁶⁴ Nestorović's "Syrian" theory appears in a somewhat different light. Although the preliminary publications do not include many ground plans of private houses, some of those which do appear in these volumes are comparable to ours in more than one respect. Thus the villa at Yakto, which *Antioch* Volume II (p. 98, figs. 4 and 5) shows in its third and fifth century stage respectively (cf. also Plan IX, p. 223), not only has rooms arranged around a peristyle but also affords a parallel for our built-in apses. The most important building complex for our purposes is that at Daphne-Harbie (Section DH-26-M/N) which is partially reproduced on Plan VII of Vol. III (our fig. 179). This plan shows parts of four houses which are built as one block partitioned by interior walls, an arrangement

¹⁶¹ *BIAB*, 1936, p. 183. This statement is presumably based on the traditions concerning the houses built for Roman patricians by Constantine in his new capital. Cf. L. de Beylié, *L'Habitation Byzantine* (1902), p. 28.

¹⁶² K. M. Swoboda, *Römische und Romanische Paläste* (1924), figs. 1, 2. Cf. also Weigand's remark in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1936, p. 524.

¹⁶³ Swoboda, loc. cit., figs. 10, 14. Professor Rostovtzeff has drawn my attention to other buildings of the same general type, e.g. the Legates House in Vetera (Xanten); cf. *Germania Romana*, 2nd ed., no date, pl. VII.

¹⁶⁴ *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, II, The Excavations 1933-1936 (1938); III, The Excavations 1937-1939 (1941).

which calls to mind the two separate complexes within our Stobi palace. The complexes at Antioch seem to be fused as intricately as they are in Stobi, but unfortunately the plan does not allow us to judge whether in Antioch the whole group of buildings was also fitted into a plain rectangle. It does seem, however, that in this case the different houses must be looked upon as semi-detached dwellings belonging to different families.

The arrangement of the rooms at Antioch cannot very well be discussed on the basis of the existing plan which does not show any one house in its entirety. Apparently there were no proper peristyles but only narrow courts. One of these had colonnades on two sides, but whether the similarity in this respect with the Stobi palace is more than accidental is difficult to say. Moreover it seems that not all the walls shown on the plan are of one and the same period.¹⁶⁵ But we may draw attention to the various nymphaea in these Antiochene houses. "House I" alone contained at least three, all oblong in shape and with niched back walls. One of these also appears on a photograph,¹⁶⁶ and it seems that both in position and architectural detail these nymphaea were not very different from the basins in our palace at Stobi. The villa at Yakto also had at least one such basin (cf. Vol. II, figs. 39, 40 and plan IX, p. 223), according to Lassus (*ibid.* p. 121) a later addition to a pre-existing niched wall. The villa at Daphne-Harbie Section 23/24 M/N contains yet another (vol. II, p. 183 and pls. 37 f.). These nymphaea certainly provide an argument in favor of Nestorović's theory regarding Syrian influence in our building. But it still remains to be seen whether these same characteristics which the Stobi palace shares with the Antiochene houses do not occur in other regions of the eastern Mediterranean.^{166a} The whole subject of domestic architecture in late Roman and Byzantine times is in urgent need of renewed investigation.

Meanwhile the Antiochene parallels might be useful for dating our building. The villa at Yakto has, as we saw, an earlier stage which according to the excavators belongs to the third century, and a later one belonging to the fifth. In the complex at Daphne-Harbie (DH-26-M/N) a number of building periods are represented which — apart from the original Hellenistic level — range from the second to the sixth century. The structures shown on the plan are however nearly all prior to the sixth century¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *Antioch*, III, p. 25.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 28.

^{166a} Professor Rostovtzeff has pointed out to me that the villa at Leptis Magna, for instance, has a nymphaeum of much the same type. Cf. *Africa Italiana*, V, 1933, pp. 2 f.

¹⁶⁷ *Antioch*, III, p. 25.

and the style of the mosaics¹⁶⁸ would also suggest that this building saw its heyday at a distinctly earlier date. The villa 23/24 M/N belongs to the third century, according to Morey (*The Mosaics of Antioch*, 1938, p. 33).

C. SCULPTURES AND MOSAICS

FURTHER ARGUMENTS FOR DATING THE PALACE

But for more precise dating of the Stobi palace we have to fall back on what evidence the building itself may provide. The sculptural decoration is of little use in this case. Most of it is unpublished. The only capitals illustrated are those of the large peristyle and they are of an unusual shape (fig. 166).¹⁶⁹ Speaking of other capitals found in the building, Nestorović distinguishes between "Ionic and Corinthian" capitals on the one hand and "Byzantine" ones on the other, and he adds that the latter are probably not part of the original structure. But without illustrations it is impossible to decide whether these capitals really represent two periods, not to mention the possibility that the Ionic and Corinthian capitals may be spoils in which case the Byzantine ones would alone be decisive for the date of the structure.¹⁷⁰ A somewhat more definite clue may be derived from the imposts in the small peristyle, which are decorated with crosses; we may also mention an impost capital found in Room 3 carved with a monogram of Christ.¹⁷¹ There must have been a building period in Christian times, and probably as late as 400 A.D.

Then there are the mosaics. We have illustrations of the pavements in the porticoes of the large peristyle¹⁷² (figs. 163, 170, 171) and of that in Room c¹⁷³ (fig. 172), but we have none of the mosaic in Room 3.¹⁷⁴ The

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., Pls. 61-66.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. above, footnote 144.

¹⁷⁰ One very remarkable piece of sculptural decoration is illustrated in Miss Goldman's article in *AJA*, 1933, p. 299, fig. 6. This is the only illustration in that article which does not seem to be published anywhere else. The piece, which is described as coming from the Pertenios Palace, does not conform with any known type of decoration — it is neither a capital nor a frieze — and suggests that same freedom of invention which we found in the carvings of the Episcopal Church. While probably of earlier date than the sculptures in the Church, it is definitely post-Classical work. But there is nothing that one can really compare it with, and furthermore we do not know whether it was a structural part of the building.

¹⁷¹ *God.*, 1929, p. 232. Saria (*JOAI*, 1933, p. 138 and fig. 69) published a top view of three imposts from the Palace which were cut out of one and the same Classical tombstone. It is not stated from which part of the Palace they come and whether they are decorated with crosses or not.

¹⁷² Cf. above, footnote 146.

¹⁷³ Cf. above, footnote 155.

¹⁷⁴ A Poseidon mosaic from the Pertenios Palace is mentioned among the exhibits at the Pavillon des Arts in Belgrade in 1932. Cf. *Die Weltkunst*, 1932, no. 29, p. 2. There are no other references to this mosaic.

mosaics, especially those in the porticoes, strike us by their simple geometric character; apparently they are equally simple in color. White and blue predominate, but for the pavement in Room c red and yellow tesserae have also been used. According to Mano Zissi the mosaic in Room c is later than those in the porticoes. He regards the latter as the earliest of all the Stobi mosaics (although he believes that they are all of more or less the same period), while the former are mentioned by him together with those in the narthex of the Episcopal Church which he dates around 500 A.D.¹⁷⁵

Both as regards motifs and the rather severe geometric style, the mosaics in the Palace may be compared to those in the Basilica of Epidauros¹⁷⁶ (figs. 173, 174, 176). There we find all the patterns from our porticoes, the intersecting octagons,¹⁷⁷ the sequence of rectangular panels with a diamond enclosed,¹⁷⁸ and the bead-and-reel border.¹⁷⁹ We also find there the ivy scroll from the border of the pavement in Room c.¹⁸⁰ Nearly all these motifs occur again in the mosaic decoration of a house in the immediate neighborhood of the basilica which also contains a fairly close parallel for the principal patterns in Room c¹⁸¹ (figs. 172, 173).

The first conclusion to be drawn from these comparisons is that contrary to Mano Zissi's opinion, the mosaic in Room c is probably contemporary with that in the porticoes. In Epidauros characteristics of both pavements are combined in one and the same context. Furthermore the Epidauros mosaics may help to date those in Stobi. Both represent a taste which on the whole prefers geometric motifs to organic ones; ornamental effects are achieved through a juxtaposition of identical or closely related patterns; the patterns are usually small in scale, simple in design and neat in execution. These characteristics are so pronounced both in Epidauros and in Stobi that the two sets of mosaics cannot be far removed from each other in date.

The exact date of the Epidauros church is unfortunately not known. But at least we have in this case a safe *terminus post quem*, namely the reign of Constantine and the Peace of the Church. And perhaps a more precise date can be suggested for these mosaics after all. For they represent a geometric carpet style which became widespread in the Roman Empire during the fourth century and which is particularly popular in metal-

¹⁷⁵ *BIAB*, 1936, p. 290.

¹⁷⁶ P. Kavvadia, "Anaskaphai en Epidauro," in *Ephemeris*, 1918, pp. 172 ff.

¹⁷⁷ Kavvadia, loc. cit., fig. 25. Our fig. 174.

¹⁷⁸ Kavvadia, loc. cit., figs. 24-26 (frame). Our fig. 174.

¹⁷⁹ Kavvadia, loc. cit., fig. 27. Our fig. 176.

¹⁸⁰ Kavvadia, loc. cit., fig. 28.

¹⁸¹ Kavvadia, loc. cit., fig. 34.

work.¹⁸² Indeed, pavements like Kavvadia's figures 27 (= our fig. 176) and 28, are a counterpart in mosaic technique to the ornament on certain engraved plates in the treasures of the Esquiline and Traprain and on related silver vessels. Running spirals (or "wave crests") such as we find on the border of the pavements (fig. 173) are the usual border decoration on these vessels¹⁸³ (figs. 175, 177), repeat-patterns of quatrefoils an equally frequent field design¹⁸⁴ (fig. 178). Traprain (fig. 177) also provides a comparison for the intersecting octagons on the pavement¹⁸⁵ (fig. 174), and the circle surrounded by squares (fig. 173), may be compared to a similar motif on the little disc in Athens¹⁸⁶ (fig. 175) which probably belongs to the same fourth century group of metalwork.¹⁸⁷ In itself the occurrence of the same motifs both in mosaic and in metalwork would not prove much, especially as the motifs concerned are of a very common type. What is more important is the use made of these ornaments, the rich carpet effects achieved in both cases through a juxtaposition of many different geometric motifs of comparatively small scale. Perhaps the best parallel in metalwork to the Epidauros mosaics is a fragment of a square dish from the Coleraine treasure (fig. 178), the ornament of which has actually been likened to "the patterns of mosaic pavements."¹⁸⁸ This fragment is the exact counterpart to pavements such as that illustrated in fig. 176. Regardless of the great difference in material, technique and dimensions, we sense an identity of taste which is perhaps a more convincing proof also of a chronological relationship between mosaics and silverwork than any comparison of individual motifs could be.

The Coleraine treasure belongs to the fourth and early fifth century.¹⁸⁹ The other pieces of metalwork of the same type also point to the period around 400 A.D.¹⁹⁰ We know that in metalwork there are isolated stragglers perpetuating the small-scale geometric style far into the fifth and even into the sixth century,¹⁹¹ but if the relationship of the Epidauros mosaics to the silverwork is conceded there is no reason not to connect them with that

¹⁸² *Antiquity*, 1940, p. 47 f.

¹⁸³ A. O. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain* (1923), p. 23, fig. 7; p. 56, fig. 36. Plate from Lampsacus, H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, I (1932), Pl. 177. Plate from Concești, L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike*, 1929, Pl. 48.

¹⁸⁴ Curle, loc. cit., p. 60, fig. 39; p. 71, fig. 54. Dish from the Esquiline: O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 1901, p. 69, no. 310.

¹⁸⁵ Curle, loc. cit., p. 56, fig. 36.

¹⁸⁶ O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art* (1925), p. 386.

¹⁸⁷ F. Drexel, in *Germania*, IX (1925), p. 126, n. 17.

¹⁸⁸ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Silver Plate in the British Museum*, 1921, p. 55, no. 222.

¹⁸⁹ Walters, loc. cit., p. 52.

¹⁹⁰ *Antiquity*, 1940, p. 47 f.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

period during which the style chiefly flourished, i.e. the decades around 400 A.D. Our analysis of the mosaics more or less agrees with Sotiriou's dating of the Epidaurus church.¹⁹²

If this line of argument is accepted we have found a date also for the mosaics of the Stobi palace. They are so closely related to those at Epidaurus that they cannot be far removed in date. These mosaics must belong to the early decades of the fifth century at the latest.¹⁹³

Strictly speaking the mosaics are not more than a *terminus ante quem* for the building. But when we consider that Classical spoils were used in the walls it becomes clear that the palace could not have been built at a very much earlier time.

Possibly, as Nestorović suggests, we must reckon with a second building period (see above, pp. 121, 124). But no judgment on this question is possible on the basis of the existing publications. Judging by the coin finds the building was still in use at the end of the sixth century.¹⁹⁴

Here then is a private residence, built presumably around 400 A.D. and used for at least two centuries after that date. From it we get a glimpse of domestic architecture in the Balkans in the early Byzantine period. The surprising fact about this architecture is its undeniably Classical atmosphere. The peristyles with their colonnades and water basins, their niches and their Classical statuary, a room like Room 2 with its artfully designed steps reminiscent of Roman baroque and its colonnaded back wall, finally the harmonious, neat and rational layout of the whole plan — all this has a Classical, one might say, a pagan flavor. It suggests material prosperity and enjoyment of worldly things and it makes a peculiar contrast to the crosses on the capitals.

For the first time we may perhaps sense, in the faint reflection of greater things which provincial monuments often afford, something of the atmosphere in which wealthy people lived in Constantinople in the first few centuries of the city's existence. We are reminded of the complaints of St. John Chrysostom (late fourth century) against the luxury displayed by the rich of his period.¹⁹⁵ We are also reminded of the descriptions given by

¹⁹² *Ephemeris*, 1929, p. 201: end of the 4th century. *Praktika tes Akademias Athenon*, IV, 1929, pp. 94 f.: 4th rather than 5th century.

¹⁹³ Another church with mosaics of the same type was excavated by Orlandos at Daphnousion, near Arkitsa in Lokris, in 1929. The date suggested for this church by Orlandos and Sotiriou is the early 5th century. Cf. *Byzantion*, V, 1929/30, p. 207 ff. and Pl. 31 ff. *Ephemeris*, 1929, p. 207 f.

¹⁹⁴ Eight copper coins were found in Room 4: Mauricius Tiberius, Justinus II, Justinian; cf. *God.*, 1929, p. 234. A copper coin of Justinian is also mentioned in *God.*, 1928, p. 191.

¹⁹⁵ In Psalmum XLVIII; cf. Migne, PG 55, col. 510 ff.

Codinus and Cedrenus (both admittedly late sources) of the house of Lausus, according to Codinus a high official under Arcadius (395–408); they tell us of precious columns, of marbles of many colors, of fountains and Classical statues.¹⁹⁶

The palace was skirted by streets on the south and east sides, and apparently also on the north side.¹⁹⁷ The street on the east side, which is 3m. wide, separates the palace from a dwelling of apparently similar purpose and character, the plan of which may be discerned in an airview (*Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 168, fig. 39; our fig. 124). There is no publication of this building, the distinguishing feature of which is two apsed rooms side by side, but the mosaics in one of the apsed rooms have been illustrated and described by Mano Zissi¹⁹⁸ (figs. 180–184, 206). These mosaics, though very different in character from those of the palace, must be ascribed – and have been ascribed by Mano Zissi – to a similarly early date. We shall have occasion to refer to them again later on (cf. footnote 258).

The building west of the palace, traces of which are also discernible on the airview, was apparently part of the same complex. It is separated from the palace not by a street but by a yard which is closed by a wall on the south side though open on the north. Trial digs around this building, which occupies the whole area to the west as far as the Episcopal Church, yielded two vaulted cellars and two rooms which seem to have served for the storage of pottery. On the floor of one of these cellars five gold coins were found: two of Justinus (II ?) and three of Justinian.¹⁹⁹

The airview (fig. 124) gives a clear impression of these three units, the Double Apse Building, the palace and the building west of it. It is a coherent group with a common orientation and a common front on the north and south sides. The orientation is exactly the same as that of the Roman theater. As soon as we disregard the Episcopal Church, which cuts the complex at an oblique angle, we at once recover the axial arrangement typical of a Roman city. In discussing the Gate, the street and the exedra west of the Church, we came to the conclusion that they must have existed before the Church did. We now find that the same applies to the buildings east of the Church. Gradually before our eyes takes shape a picture of the town as it existed between the second century (the date of the theater) and the early fifth century (the date of the palace). We begin to recover

¹⁹⁶ Codinus, *Exc. de Antiqu.*, ed. Bonn, p. 37 f. Cedrenus, *Hist.*, ed. Bonn, I, p. 564.

¹⁹⁷ *God.*, 1930, p. 190. The street on the N. side was not yet explored in 1930.

¹⁹⁸ *BIAB*, 1936, p. 279 f., 296 f.

¹⁹⁹ *God.*, 1931, p. 224 f.; 1932, pp. 212, 219.

a city of the late Roman and earliest Byzantine period within which the main Christian church appears as a comparatively late intruder.²⁰⁰

VI. THE "SYNAGOGUE" COMPLEX

Only one important group of buildings remains to be described, namely that which included the so-called "Synagogue." This group lies in the center of the town, between the Episcopal Church and the Roman bridge. Unfortunately there is no ground plan or airview which shows the position of the buildings in relation to the street system.

Practically the only publications on these ruins are two articles by the excavator summarizing the work of two successive campaigns in 1931 and 1932.²⁰¹ Since these accounts are apparently not altogether trustworthy,^{201a} any conclusions based on them must be regarded as purely tentative. Some additional information may be gathered from preliminary reports.²⁰² The mosaics have been published separately by Mano Zissi,²⁰³ who speaks of them again in his general article on the Stobi mosaics.²⁰⁴ A large literature exists on the Jewish inscription which was found in the ruins and from which they derive their name. But those who have written on the inscription have as a rule not taken much interest in the archaeology of the site; on the other hand the unbiased study of the buildings has been hampered by the presence of the inscription.

I propose first to discuss the ruins without any reference to the inscription. The complex excavated in 1931 and 1932 consists of three units lying side by side.²⁰⁵ In the center of our composite plan (fig. 186) is a basilica, to which the term "synagogue" has been more especially applied; next to it on the right is a palace often called the "Summer Palace," and on the extreme right another obviously secular building known as the "Winter Palace." Like the structures previously discussed, basilica and palaces are ori-

²⁰⁰ If we are right in our assumption that the colonnaded street and the exedra form part of this late Roman town, the plan cannot have been completely regular or else must at one time have undergone a change. For the street and the exedra do not lie on exactly the same axes as the theater and the palace.

²⁰¹ J. Petrović, in *Starinar*, 1932, pp. 81-86 (German résumé p. 135 f.); *Starinar*, 1933/34, pp. 169-191.

^{201a} Cf. Petković's comment in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 34, 1934, p. 228: "Die Erklärungen P.'s und die Wiederherstellung der Grundrisse bedürfen der Berichtigung."

²⁰² *God.*, 1931, pp. 222 ff., 232; 1932, pp. 234 f. *Svijet*, Knjiga XII, Godina VI, Broj 12, Sept. 19, 1931, pp. 278 f., 288.

²⁰³ *Starinar*, 1933/34, pp. 249-254.

²⁰⁴ *BIAB*, 1936, p. 280 f.

²⁰⁵ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 170, fig. 1. Our fig. 186 shows this ground plan combined with that of the "Basilicae Geminatae," excavated in 1937; for these see below pp. 130, 144.

ented from northwest to southeast, but for the purposes of our description we shall assume that the apse of the basilica lies to the east.

a. THE BASILICA

We enter the atrium of the basilica on the west side by descending two steps (figs. 187 and 189). The atrium is surrounded by corridors on all four sides. Its central space lies at an even lower level and has at its west end a low partition formed by two marble slabs. The narrow space west of this partition served as a basin with the solid wall of the west corridor as its back wall. On the inside the basin was coated with a layer of plaster 3cm. thick.

The walls of the north, south and east corridors are also partly solid. In the center they open as colonnades with two columns on the south and north side and one on the east side.²⁰⁶ The bases (fig. 190) are all different in size and shape and they are obviously spoils taken from some other building,²⁰⁷ but the shafts of these columns are all of the same material and workmanship. It is the east column on the north side²⁰⁸ which bears the famous inscription. Of capitals belonging to these columns no mention is made in the text, but three "capitals from the peristyle of the synagogue" appear on a photograph²⁰⁹ (fig. 188). They too are obviously spoils. At the northern corner of the eastern corridor are steps which seem to have led to an upper story. Behind the steps is a tomb marked by an upright column without inscription or decoration.²¹⁰ At the southern corner is a marble vessel.²¹¹ Originally there were doors both at the north and the south end of the west portico. That at the north end was later sealed. What lay beyond this door was not known at the time of the excavations. But a plan published in 1940 shows, north of the basilica, two more basilical buildings excavated in 1937²¹² (fig. 186, on the left). The door at the south end will be mentioned later in connection with the "Summer Palace" (see below p. 139 f.).

On the south side the atrium is flanked by three rooms. The doors con-

²⁰⁶ The plan, *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 171, fig. 2 (our fig. 187), shows only one base *in situ* on the south side, but five bases were found in all. See diagrams, *ibid.*, p. 174, fig. 6 (our fig. 190), nos. 8-12. Note that according to section II - II on fig. 187 the two bases on the north side stand on different levels. But judging by the photograph of the peristyle, *Starinar*, 1932, p. 82, fig. 2 (our fig. 189), there is no such difference in level between the bases on the south side.

²⁰⁷ See footnote 206.

²⁰⁸ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 174, fig. 6, no. 6. Our fig. 190.

²⁰⁹ *Starinar*, 1932, p. 84, fig. 5.

²¹⁰ *Svijet* (see footnote 202), p. 288.

²¹¹ *Starinar*, 1932, p. 81, fig. 1, point 5.

²¹² *Bericht über den 6. Internationalen Kongress . . .* Pl. 67a. The illustration is incorporated in our composite ground plan fig. 186. See above n. 205 and also below, p. 144.

necting them with the atrium were sealed up at some later period²¹³ and it is worth noting that in the westernmost of these rooms were found, apart from glass and pottery sherds, a large number of late Roman copper coins, apparently of the fifth century.²¹⁴ In the easternmost room, which was accessible from the narthex, a tombstone with a Christian inscription was found.²¹⁵

From the atrium we enter the narthex, which is said also to have had, at least originally, an exit on the south side,²¹⁶ and thence the basilica itself. This is of a simple three-aisled plan, but with uncommonly narrow side aisles. Of the north colonnade two bases were apparently found *in situ*, of the south colonnade one.²¹⁷ Of the eastern base of the north colonnade a photograph was published by Saria in his article on the theater, for it is in all likelihood a spoil from the lower story of the *scenae frons*.²¹⁸ We hear of four column shafts of white marble quarried in the neighborhood of Pletvar.²¹⁹ The excavators seem to assume that the nave never had more than four columns. This leaves us with quite exceptionally wide intercolumniations (5.40, 5.35, 3.25m.).

The floor of the nave is paved with thin slate slabs and a narrow strip of white marble runs from the entrance to the altar. The pavement slabs in front of the apse have grooves filled with lead, apparently a remnant of some kind of partition between nave and chancel.

Diagram no. 1 on figure 190 shows one of several imposts which according to Petrović belonged to the windows of the apse. These imposts are decorated with crosses, and for this reason it has been generally assumed that in its final stage the building served as a Christian church.²²⁰

At the west end of the north aisle a large copper coin of Anastasius I was found.²²¹

Of the numerous students who have written on the "Synagogue," none has made a serious attempt to date the building as such. The first clue is the column base in the nave which is generally agreed to have been taken

²¹³ *Starinar*, 1932, p. 82.

²¹⁴ According to *Starinar*, 1932, p. 135, there were 170 coins of the 5th century. But *ibid.*, p. 82, we hear of "about 100 late Roman coins," in *God.*, 1931, p. 223, of 43 Roman coins, and in *Svijet*, 1932, p. 288, of 172.

²¹⁵ *Starinar*, 1932, p. 84, fig. 6.

²¹⁶ *Starinar*, 1932, p. 86, n. 1.

²¹⁷ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 173, fig. 5.

²¹⁸ *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 123 and fig. 27.

²¹⁹ *Svijet*, p. 288.

²²⁰ See also above, footnote 215, for a Christian tombstone.

²²¹ *God.*, 1932, p. 86. In *God.*, 1931, p. 223, what is apparently the same find is described as a coin of Justinian.

from the theater. We thus gain a valuable *terminus post quem*, for the nave colonnades cannot be earlier than the fifth century (cf. Appendix I). The second clue is furnished by the capitals in the atrium, which are also spoils (fig. 188). We find one Ionic capital,²²² which may be of fairly early date.²²³ The other two²²⁴ are degenerate acanthus capitals. Exact parallels are hard to find, especially for the one on the left in the photograph, since it has a peculiar kind of round foliage. But there are other characteristics such as the complete suppression of the kalathos and the reduction of the abacus flower to a mere projection of the abacus itself. These are signs of a fairly advanced date.²²⁵ It also appears as though the two helices on either side of each corner were fused into a kind of broad flat leaf leaving V-shaped openings on each side. According to Kautzsch, this feature belongs to the second half of the fifth century.²²⁶ The capital on the right might be slightly earlier, but judging from the character of the acanthus the difference in date is not very great. If these capitals were carved sometime in the fifth century they can hardly have been available for re-use before the end of the century or the beginning of the sixth.

Perhaps we may also derive a clue from the arrangement of the nave colonnades which are characterized by unusually narrow aisles and — provided that Petrović's reconstruction is correct in this point — unusually wide intercolumniations. Both these features are reminiscent of a type of church widespread in northern Syria, the only difference being that the Syrian churches usually have pillars instead of columns. Indeed pillars would seem more appropriate as a support of arcades of such extraordinarily large span. But there is at least one example in Syria of a church with columns supporting arcades with a span of about 5m. length. I refer to the north church of the Double Church at Umm Idj Djimal.²²⁷ The date of this church is not known, but according to Butler²²⁸ the similarly proportioned basilicas with pillars appeared in northern Syria around the middle of the fifth century, and Beyer²²⁹ states that this type of plan was in use around 500 A.D.

All our criteria lead to the conclusion that the basilica belongs to the advanced fifth century at the earliest and that it may well be of sixth cen-

²²² *Starinar*, 1932, p. 84, fig. 5 (= our fig. 188) center.

²²³ Cf. a capital in T. Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture*, 1936, p. 156, fig. 47.

²²⁴ *Starinar*, 1932, p. 84, fig. 5 (= our fig. 188) left and right.

²²⁵ Cf. Kautzsch, loc. cit., Pl. 23, nos. 354, 355.

²²⁶ Loc. cit., p. 56. It must be admitted, however, that the photograph of our capital is not clear enough to decide whether it has real "Lederblätter."

²²⁷ *Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909* (H. C. Butler), Div. II, Section A, p. 180 f.

²²⁸ H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria* (1929), p. 70.

²²⁹ H. W. Beyer, *Der Syrische Kirchenbau* (1925), p. 75.

tury date. But strictly speaking our arguments apply only to the interior arrangement of the nave and to the atrium colonnades; there are certain indications that all or a part of the shell of the building may be older.

Thus the placing of the columns in the atrium looks distinctly like an afterthought. They are not arranged symmetrically in relation to the solid parts of the walls, and at least on the north side the two columns are on different levels.²³⁰ It looks like a patched-up secondary arrangement. But a more important point is this: an atrium which was planned as a church atrium from the start would hardly have a ground plan such as this one has. The normal atrium in the Balkans and elsewhere has porticoes on the north, south and west sides only, and these porticoes are open all around as colonnades, without any solid walls. The asymmetrical position in regard to the nave is also unusual. In plan, size, and position this forecourt reminds us not of any church atrium but of the "atrium" of the Partenos Palace, which has corridors on four sides, separated from the central part by solid walls, and which also occupies a similarly asymmetrical position in regard to the main unit of the building. It would be too hazardous for one who has not seen the ruins to suggest that originally the atrium of our basilica, like that of the palace, had no columns at all, but the symptoms certainly point toward such a hypothesis. In any case we may confidently suggest that this atrium is not in its original condition and that the building therefore had an earlier phase in which it was in all likelihood not yet a church.

The only evidence of an earlier building period mentioned in the excavation reports consists of some solidly constructed walls and a conduit 50cm. below the threshold of the small room in the southwest corner of the atrium.²³¹ It should also be noted that east of the basilica a system of niches, a steam bath, a stove and conduits were found; these are the remains of a bath which appears to have been on a lower level than the basilica, although it was perhaps in some way connected with it.²³² But in the absence of any plan showing these traces it is impossible to decide whether they have anything to do with that earlier phase which we seem to discern within our structure or whether they belong to an altogether different building which might have occupied the site previously.

All one can say is that the basilica as it stands can hardly be all of one period. While the atrium colonnades with their re-used capitals, and the nave colonnades with their re-used base are not earlier than the end of the

²³⁰ See above, footnote 206.

²³¹ *Starinar*, 1932, pp. 82, 135.

²³² *God.*, 1931, p. 223; *Starinar*, 1932, pp. 86, 135, and p. 85, figs. 7, 8.

fifth century, the shell, or at least part of it, may be a good deal older.²³³ But apart from a general similarity of the atrium with that of the palace we have no clue as to the date or the purpose of the original structure.²³⁴

b. THE "SUMMER PALACE"

A glance at the plan of the "Summer Palace"²³⁵ (fig. 191) shows that this was a building of the same general type as the big palace though not quite so sumptuous. Again we find the various units arranged around a big central space which has at one end a basin surmounted by a niched wall²³⁶ (fig. 192). There is also a large reception room with an apse and a mosaic floor, and smaller rooms on either side. Another reception room is found on the south side. As in the big palace the corridors separating these rooms from the central space are decorated with mosaics. A new feature is an entrance portico with seven columns at the southwest corner. These columns carried Ionic capitals, except for the westernmost one which had a foliage capital with human heads.²³⁷ "Judging by the position of this capital the building had a second story."²³⁸ It will be remembered that the palace also seemed to have a second story.

The similarity of this layout with that of the big palace is somewhat obscured by later changes. The large room with the basin was subsequently partitioned by a loosely built wall²³⁹ and was apparently used as a cattle yard. One would like to assume that the wall which cuts off an oblong strip in the northeast corner of this room is also a later addition, for we could then conclude that the columns found just to the north of this wall are remnants of a peristyle similar to that in the big palace.²⁴⁰

²³³ The rooms on the south side of the atrium are probably part of this earlier layout. Perhaps the sealing of the doors (cf. above, p. 130 f.) connecting them with the atrium took place not long after the atrium was remodelled. This would explain how such a great number of comparatively early coins could have survived in one of these rooms in spite of the fact that the building must have been in use well into the Byzantine period.

²³⁴ It will be remembered that in the case of the great church at Stobi a special effort seems to have been made to achieve something nearing proper orientation, regardless of the existing street axes of the Roman city (see above, p. 116). Unfortunately we do not know what the position of the "Synagogue" complex is in relation to the street net. We can only say that the axis of the buildings is about 30 degrees south of due east and that this is in keeping with the general direction of the streets. If no special effort was made to turn the apse of the church nearer to due east it might be another indication that this is an older, non-ecclesiastical, building which has been converted.

²³⁵ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 175, fig. 8.

²³⁶ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 177, fig. 10.

²³⁷ *Starinar*, 1933/34, pp. 8-13; *AJA*, 1933, p. 301, figs. 10-11.

²³⁸ *God.*, 1932, p. 235.

²³⁹ On the plan, *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 170, fig. 1 the later walls are shown in different hatching. Cf. our fig. 186.

²⁴⁰ Petković assumes that there was originally a peristyle surrounded by colonnaded porticoes on three sides and a basin on the fourth; cf. *God.*, 1932, p. 209.

However this may be the partition in the large apsed room is definitely an afterthought, and so is the west wall of this room which blocks the original entrance. A substitute entrance was broken into the south wall. In the corridor south of the peristyle a water conduit was built which partly destroyed the mosaic pavement. Apparently in its last phase the building served more utilitarian purposes than those for which it had originally been planned. A well in the northern part of the peristyle, 2.50m. deep and equipped with a conduit, is perhaps also an indication of this.²⁴¹

The original building must have been characterized by very much the same atmosphere as the Partenos Palace. Apart from the large basin there is another decorative fountain in the large apsed room²⁴² and apparently this building too was decorated with Classical sculptures. A Dionysiac relief was found near the peristyle columns²⁴³ and a female bust inside the basin.²⁴⁴ If the inscription found in the east part of the peristyle²⁴⁵ could be shown to have been destined for this place it would throw some light on the date of the original building and the identity of its inhabitants. But although the excavation reports do not make this clear it is more likely that it is just a stray block brought into the building at a later time.

It is only for the mosaics, not for the building itself, that a date has been suggested; they are in fact our only clue to the chronology of the structure.²⁴⁶

The pavement of one of the peristyle corridors — apparently the eastern one — is illustrated in our figure 196 (*Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 249, fig. 7). That of the room south of the peristyle (no. 5 on the plan shown in fig. 186) is reproduced in our figures 195 and 207 (*ibid.* pp. 250 f., figs. 8 and 9, and *BIAB*, 1936, fig. 171) and that of the large apsed room in our figures 193 and 194 (*Starinar*, 1933/34, pp. 252 ff., figs. 10–13 and *BIAB*, 1936, figs. 169, 183, 184).

The mosaic in the corridor, like that in the corresponding location in the big palace, is of a simple geometric design (fig. 196). One panel shows a diamond pattern in blue and white — the same colors used in the palace

²⁴¹ Diagram of this well in *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 176, fig. 9 right.

²⁴² This fountain is presumably part of the original layout; at any rate it must have been in its place when the mosaic floor was laid (cf. fig. 193). A similar fountain is in the Double Apse Building; cf. *BIAB*, 1936, figs. 168, 169; our fig. 180.

²⁴³ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 179, fig. 13, found at points 15/14 of plan, *ibid.*, p. 170, fig. 1.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 11 (= *AJA* 1933, p. 300, fig. 8), found at point 8a of plan, *ibid.*, fig. 1.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 4, found at point 9 of plan, *ibid.*, fig. 1.

²⁴⁶ Sculpture is of little help in this case. All we have are diagrams of a few column capitals and impostes: *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 176, fig. 9. They are not referred to in the text and we do not know where and how they were employed. The capital with the human heads from the entrance portico — presumably a spoil — is dated by Saria around 200 A.D. See above, footnote 237.

corridors — the second one a scale pattern, the third again diamonds. Mano Zissi, the only author to have written on these mosaics, does not suggest a date for this particular one. It seems however that we are in the general period of the pavements of the Partenios Palace and the Epidauros church.²⁴⁷

The pavement in the room south of the peristyle (fig. 195) is of a type which we have already encountered in the narthex of the Episcopal Church and which is altogether frequent in pavements of the Early Christian period in the Balkans and other regions. It consists of rows of square panels divided by a guilloche border and filled with various figures, in this case birds, baskets, and cups. Contrary to most of the other mosaics of this type, in which these representations vary from panel to panel, we have in this case a symmetrical arrangement. The birds are placed to the left and to the right, the baskets and cups in the center. The birds in the left row face those on the right. The symbolic "Tree of Life" theme, so popular in Early Christian art, has conquered the free-style representations of animal life which we usually find in mosaics of this type.

Mano Zissi in a brief reference²⁴⁸ assigns this mosaic to a fourth to fifth century date. Since there are a good many parallels, we may hope to define the date more closely. It is well worth going into this problem since the mosaic is the only feature in the whole "Synagogue" complex which may help us towards a definite date.

We take as a point of reference the animal and bird panels of the mosaics of Theodorus at Aquileia (*ca.* 314-325)²⁴⁹ (figs. 185, 205). Most of these panels are polygonal, they have a very light frame reminiscent of thin lattice work, and within their frames the animals move freely and easily, with plenty of air around them. When a bird is displayed against a foliage background²⁵⁰ the depth of the space within the panel is more clearly defined, but there is still depth, for we are able to distinguish between foreground and background. By contrast the bird panels in the "Summer Palace" contain neither depth nor air. Birds as well as foliage all lie in one plane, as though they were stuck on a solid piece of white cardboard. The branches simply fill those portions of the surface which the outlines of the bird leave empty, and the whole pattern is narrowly circumscribed and firmly held together by a very heavy frame (fig. 207).

To determine the date when this latter style was in vogue we may con-

²⁴⁷ Cf. Kavvadia, *loc. cit.*, figs. 20, 21.

²⁴⁸ *God.*, 1932, p. 234.

²⁴⁹ C. Cecchelli, in *La Basilica di Aquileja*, 1933, pp. 125 ff. See, e.g., Pls. 8 ff.

²⁵⁰ *Jahrbuch für Denkmalpflege* IX (1915), p. 153, fig. 116.

sult the publication on the basilica of Eressos on the island of Lesbos. This church has a pavement decorated with bird panels and other ornaments and inscribed with the name of Bishop John, a personage presumably identical with the bishop who took part in the Council of Ephesos in 431 A.D. Accordingly this mosaic has been dated in the first half of the fifth century.²⁵¹ The birds on this pavement²⁵² are enclosed in spaces which are as narrowly constricted as ours in Stobi, and the plants, though in some cases still meant to appear behind the birds, are in the process of becoming mere space fillers for the empty corners (fig. 209).

It would seem therefore that the stylistic evolution by which the free animal portrait in indefinite space was transformed into a surface pattern had been completed by the middle of the fifth century at the latest. The evidence of the Eressos mosaics — a work of poor quality we must admit — can perhaps be supplemented by certain mosaics in Basilica Gamma of Nea Anchialos. It will be granted that the bird panels in the atrium of that church bear a close stylistic resemblance to those of our "Summer Palace."²⁵³ Here again the third dimension is eliminated, the branches fill the empty parts of the surface, and the birds themselves share with those of our panels a solid, massive quality (fig. 208).

Unfortunately no date is available for the Nea Anchialos church, only half of which has so far been excavated. But we do know that there are at least two different periods in this building, since an earlier mosaic floor was discovered beneath the south aisle.²⁵⁴ We can fix the date of the top level with a fair amount of certainty: the capitals of the columns which at that stage divided the nave from the aisles show the characteristics of the early style of Justinian.²⁵⁵ The atrium mosaics, however, are on a lower level, which means that they belong to a church of pre-Justinian date.²⁵⁶ How much earlier this lower level is we do not know. But we must allow for sufficient time to have elapsed after its erection to have warranted a re-

²⁵¹ A. Orlandos, in *Archaiologikon Deltion* 1929, p. 38.

²⁵² Ibid., p. 35 f., figs. 38–40.

²⁵³ *Praktika tes Archaiologikes Hetairias*, 1933, p. 52, fig. 4; 1934, p. 58, fig. 2; p. 59, fig. 3.

²⁵⁴ *Praktika*, 1930, p. 32 and fig. 4; 1933, p. 48 f.

²⁵⁵ *Praktika*, 1930, p. 31, fig. 2; 1931, p. 41 and fig. 6; 1933, p. 51 and fig. 3. — Kautzsch, loc. cit., p. 188, no. 593.

²⁵⁶ Sotiriou assumes that everything east of the exonarthex was rebuilt, while atrium and exonarthex were taken over from an earlier structure. (Cf. *Praktika*, 1933, p. 51 f.) It is not quite clear from Sotiriou's description to which phase of the structure the mosaics in the narrow room S. of the atrium (*Praktika*, 1931, p. 38 ff., Pls. A–E) must be assigned. They, too, are similar to ours in style, but they lie on an intermediate level. Sotiriou's date for these mosaics is end of 5th or early 6th century, although he compares them to those of the Eressos basilica (ibid., p. 37, n. 1).

building early in Justinian's reign. The atrium mosaics can hardly be later than the fifth century.²⁵⁷ The two mosaic floors at Lesbos and Nea Anchialos permit us to infer that the pavement in the room south of the peristyle of our "Summer Palace" was laid during the fifth century, and, in view of the date of the Eressos mosaic, hardly later than the middle of that century.²⁵⁸ Around the middle of the fifth century the building must have been in existence. The structure itself might be older, but in all likelihood it is not much older. Let us remember that the palace is of the same type as the Partenios Palace which we found was built probably around 400 A.D.

Whether the mosaics in the large apsed room (see above p. 135 and figs. 193, 194) are of the same or of more advanced date it is difficult to decide on the basis of photographs. Mano Zissi mentions them together with those of the Episcopal Church which he dates around 500 A.D.²⁵⁹ Although similar to those of the smaller room as regards framework, subject matter and types of composition, the mosaics in the apsed room are somewhat different in style. The animals and birds are rendered mostly by means of outlines, and the color scheme is largely confined to black and red, while in the smaller room green, dark ochre and yellow tesserae were also used.²⁶⁰ But it may be that this is simply inferior work, and it is not necessarily later in date. Even if it is later it does not represent the last stage in the history of the building for the partition wall later erected in this room cuts through the mosaic pattern.²⁶¹ The "Summer Palace" seems to have been in use over a considerable period.

²⁵⁷ Sotiriou (in *Praktika*, 1934, p. 60) also ascribes the mosaics in the atrium to the 5th century.

²⁵⁸ This result throws some light also on the dating of two other pavements in Stobi previously mentioned in this paper. The mosaic in the Double Apse Building (cf. above, p. 128 and figs. 180-184, 206) is, by comparison, much closer to the above-mentioned panels in Aquileia. It shows polygonal panels with thin frames (*BIAB*, 1936, fig. 172), and the animals, though not as free as those of the early 4th century, are still lively in their movements and not so firmly hemmed in by the frames as the birds in the "Summer Palace" (*BIAB*, 1936, figs. 181 and 185; our figs. 184, 206). They may be assigned to an intermediate date late in the 4th or early in the 5th century, which is precisely the date previously suggested by Mano Zissi, and which is also the date of the big palace next door. The animal panels in the narthex of the Episcopal Church (figs. 145, 146), on the other hand, show the tendency towards abstract composition even more fully developed than the bird pavements in the "Summer Palace." Every group is composed in such a way that it fits exactly into the roundel assigned to it; they must be described as heraldic patterns rather than animal scenes (*BIAB*, 1936, figs. 177-179 our fig. 210). The church was built around 500 A.D., and this further step away from nature agrees well with the lapse of another 50 years, reckoning from the period of the mosaics at Lesbos, Nea Anchialos, and the "Summer Palace." But the step is not so great as to make it necessary to assume that the mosaic is later than the church itself. Cf. above, p. 108.

²⁵⁹ *BIAB*, 1936, p. 291.

²⁶⁰ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 249.

²⁶¹ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 253, fig. 12.

C. CONNECTION BETWEEN BASILICA AND "SUMMER PALACE"

So far we have been discussing the two buildings as though they were entirely independent structures. Actually, as the plans show, they are contiguous, and we must now examine their relationship.

Let us first recapitulate the chronological data at which we have arrived. The "Summer Palace" was in existence around the middle of the fifth century. The basilica in its present shape dates from the end of that century at the earliest and quite possibly from the sixth. In view of this difference in date we are not surprised to learn from the published drawings and accounts that the walls of the two buildings are not bonded. But it is somewhat surprising to learn from the drawings — and the printed description confirms it — that the walls of the "Summer Palace" are joined to the already existing walls of the basilica and not vice versa.²⁶² This observation is of great importance. For it confirms us in our belief that the late fifth or sixth century basilica was installed in a "shell" of earlier date. If the "Summer Palace" of 450 A.D. (or earlier) shows clear signs of being added to a basilica which appears to be at least 50, if not 100 or more years younger, the only possible conclusion is that at least the outer walls of this "younger" building are actually older than 450 A.D. We can now confidently suggest that the shell of the basilica belongs to the first part of the fifth century at the latest and that those elements which seem to be indicative of a later period, namely the colonnades of nave and atrium, date from a subsequent reconstruction.

This much seems clear. What cannot be explained on the basis of the published reports is, on the one hand, the relationship of the levels of the two buildings and, on the other, the means of communication between them. To clarify either of these two points we would have to know more than we do about the earlier stages of the basilica building. At present the level of the "Summer Palace" is between 1 and 1.50m. below that of the basilica. Possibly this difference is due to the general decline of the terrain from north to south. But the difference may not always have been so great. The rebuilding which the basilica underwent may have entailed a raising of the floor level. Let us recall that earlier foundations were found beneath the threshold of one of the atrium annexes (cf. above, p. 133).

As has already been mentioned, the reports say that at two points basilica and "Summer Palace" communicate with each other: at the southwest

²⁶² *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 175, fig. 8 = our fig. 191. Petrović says (p. 176) that only the wall between basilica and palace, indicated by hatched lines on the plan, belongs to the first period.

corner of the atrium and at the south end of the narthex of the basilica.²⁶³ But these openings can hardly have been doors in the ordinary sense of the word, in view of the great drop in level.²⁶⁴ Although Petrović speaks of steps at the southwest corner of the basilica²⁶⁵ the definitive plan of 1932²⁶⁶ shows no trace of any such steps. The opening at the southwest corner at least must have been more in the nature of a window; but it is curious that, according to the plan, the room of the "Summer Palace" into which it leads has no other entrance at all.

We must admit that we do not yet know what, if any, connection existed between the two buildings. But it seems fairly clear that in its final stage, when it was a church, the basilica did not communicate with the palace except perhaps through windows. As to the earlier stage of the basilica we are still entirely in the dark.

d. THE "WINTER PALACE"

A lane of nearly 5m. width separates the "Summer Palace" from the third building on the site, the "Winter Palace"²⁶⁷ (figs. 197–201). In view of what has been said above with regard to the basilica it is interesting to note that in this case the excavators have found clear evidence of two different building periods, and that the second period entailed a raising by more than 1m. of the floor level in the forecourt. Some of the walls are more solidly constructed than others. But neither the plans nor the descriptions permit us to distinguish clearly between those parts which belong to the original building and those which are later reconstruction.

The secondary floor of the forecourt is paved with slate slabs. Columns were found,²⁶⁸ which were partly buried beneath it; almost one third of their length was below ground. These columns, which carried brick arches, must belong to the earlier period. A statue of a bearded man found in the southeast corner of the forecourt²⁶⁹ was also partly buried. This statue, which has been assigned to the second or third century, is practically our only clue to the date of the building.²⁷⁰ It affords at least a *terminus post quem* for the reconstruction.

Southeast of the forecourt is a room²⁷¹ with niches and pilasters, prob-

²⁶³ Cf. above, p. 130 f.

²⁶⁴ Cf. *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 175, fig. 8 (= our fig. 191), Sections II-II and IV-IV.

²⁶⁵ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 169. Cf. *Starinar*, 1932, p. 81, fig. 1.

²⁶⁶ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 171, fig. 2 = our fig. 187.

²⁶⁷ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 182, fig. 18.

²⁶⁸ At point 23 of the plan, *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 170, fig. 1. Cf. our fig. 186.

²⁶⁹ At point 22 of the same plan.

²⁷⁰ *Starinar*, 1933/34, pp. 178, 180 and 190 f., figs. 29, 30. *AJA*, 1933, p. 300, fig. 9.

²⁷¹ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 170, fig. 1, point 24; cf. *ibid.*, p. 188, fig. 26.

ably a reception room such as we also found in the other palaces in Stobi. But whether the "Winter Palace" ever had a peristyle seems doubtful. The greater part of the area east of the forecourt is occupied by a large apsed room about which the descriptions say nothing except that it was divided by two columns.²⁷² Beneath this room an elaborate system of hypocausts was found (figs. 198 and 201). The floor rested partly on short pillars of brick, partly on hollow tubes of pottery.²⁷³ The hypocausts had three large openings in the apsed east wall²⁷⁴ (fig. 199) in which deposits of charcoal ashes were found.

Another unusual feature of this building is the triangular courtyard on the south side.²⁷⁵ With its front of six pillars, which originally carried arches, it seems to have been the main façade of the building. A double entrance in the northwest corner led to the interior. This entrance was subsequently sealed. In the corner east of the triangular court a statue of Venus was found with its lower part solidly buried in the ground.²⁷⁶

As to the date of the building the excavators have not put forward any opinion. All that can be said is that judging by the statues found it must have been in use in late Roman times and for some time after.

This is, in outline, the architectural history of the three buildings which make up the "Synagogue Complex." At what period the "Winter Palace" was built we do not know. The "Summer Palace" was built around 450 A.D. at the latest. It was attached to an already existing building on the north side which was at that time not yet a church. Not until the end of the fifth century – and perhaps much later – was this unknown building converted into a Christian basilica.

E. THE SYNAGOGUE INSCRIPTION IN ITS RELATION TO THE RUINS

It remains for us to speak of the Greek inscription engraved on the northeast column of the atrium of the basilica (figs. 202–204). This inscription has been published at least nine times since it was discovered and has called forth a good deal of discussion.²⁷⁷ For the Greek text see fig. 204. Here is the text in an English translation (the division of lines is arbitrary):

1. [not legible]
2. (I Klaudios) Tiberios Polycharmos, also called Achyrios,
3. father of the community at Stobi, having lived all

²⁷² Visible on sections II–II and IV–IV of fig. 19, *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 183 = our fig. 198.

²⁷³ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 183, fig. 19; p. 184, fig. 20; p. 187, figs. 24, 25.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 189, fig. 28.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 185, fig. 22.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 180 and p. 186, fig. 23.

²⁷⁷ For bibliography see Appendix II.

4. [my] life according to Judaism [have] because of a vow
5. [added] to the synagogue the buildings as well as
6. the triclinium with the tetrastoon out of [my] own
7. funds without touching in any way the sacred [funds]
8. but [I declare that] I, Klaudios Tiberios Polycharmos
9. and my heirs keep for all life time all power
10. and ownership over the upper chambers. Whosoever
11. wishes to make changes beyond these decisions of mine
12. will give the patriarch 250,000 denarii. For thus
13. have I agreed. [I declare that] I and my heirs
14. undertake the repair of the roof tiles of the
15. upper chambers.²⁷⁸

For a discussion of what this inscription can tell us about life, customs, and institutions of Graeco-Roman Jewry we refer the reader to the various commentators. We wish here merely to consider its relationship to the building in which it was found. This is an extremely complex problem which has not been discussed adequately in any of the articles dealing with the inscription. Unaware of chronological and other difficulties a great many scholars have tacitly assumed that the inscription was made for the site and that the basilica is identical with the synagogue of Polycharmos.²⁷⁹ Others have recognized it as a spoil and have adopted a noncommittal attitude as to any possible connection with the site.²⁸⁰ This is indeed all that can be done at the moment. But it is worthwhile nevertheless to examine the question in some detail.

²⁷⁸ *Line 1*: The upper half of the letters in this line is cut off. What remains may be seen in a facsimile in *BCH*, 1932, p. 292 (cf. our fig. 204). Vulić suggested the reading: ETOYC TIA (or PIA). Marmorstein (*JQR*, 1937, p. 381 f.), taking up this suggestion, gives the various dates which these readings supply, according to whether the calculation is based on the Macedonian era or on the era of Actium:

	(PIA =) 111	(TIA =) 311
Macedonian Era	-----	163 A.D. (Frey: 165 A.D.)
Era of Actium	79 A.D.	279 A.D.

Line 3: For *πατήρ συναγωγῆς* cf. Vulić (*BCH*, 1932, p. 294 f.; *Glas*, 1933, p. 36 ff.) and Marmorstein (loc. cit.). It is not clear whether this is an office or merely a title. But in any case *συναγωγή* means the community and not the building.

Lines 3-4: *Πολιτευσάμενος πᾶσαν πολιτείαν κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαισμόν*: Vulić (loc. cit.) and Frey (loc. cit.) give parallels for this meaning.

Line 4: *Ἐυχῆς ἐνεκεν*: all commentators agree on this translation. Theoretically it would seem equally possible to translate "for the sake of prayer." This would have the important implication that the buildings erected by Polycharmos were all intended for religious purposes.

Line 5: *Τῷ ἁγίῳ τόπῳ* — a usual term for synagogue; cf. Marmorstein, loc. cit., p. 377; Vulić (loc. cit.); and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Synagoge*, col. 1289.

Line 11: *Καινοτομήσαι*: Vulić (loc. cit.) points out that this does not necessarily refer to changes in the building. It may equally well refer to changes in the will.

²⁷⁹ Thus Klein, Sukenik, Marmorstein, Frey. For references see Bibliography, Appendix II.

²⁸⁰ Thus Vulić, Lietzmann, Petrović, Danov.

There are, theoretically, four possibilities:

1. The column, with the inscription, may be in its original place.
2. The column may be a spoil, but the inscription may have been added when it was already in the present position.
3. Column plus inscription may be a spoil taken from another building.
4. Column plus inscription may be a spoil originally belonging to an earlier phase of the same building.

The first of these possibilities has no real advocate. The scholars who speak about the basilica as a synagogue have not tried to prove any original connection between the column and the building but have simply taken it for granted that such a connection exists. Some of them admit that the "Synagogue" was later converted into a church. But they are not aware, as the excavator was, that the column itself shows signs of being in secondary use. Dr. Petrović observed that the shaft is truncated at the top, and not as a result of a fall.²⁸¹ Let us add to this that bases and capitals are also spoils and that the whole patched-up structure seemed to us a later addition to the atrium — an addition which dates from the end of the fifth century at the earliest, whereas the inscription, as all experts agree, dates from between the first and the third centuries.²⁸²

These arguments also dispose of the second possibility which has found a tentative advocate in Vulić. If the damage to the upper part of the column is not accidental it means that the damage to the top line of the inscription occurred when the column was refashioned for its present use, and the inscription cannot have been added at that time. Moreover the inscription is at least two hundred years older than that part of the structure for which it was used. Vulić himself had objected to his own sugges-

²⁸¹ *Starinar*, 1933/34, p. 169. — Professor Sterling Dow, who has been kind enough to make a thorough examination of the photographs of the inscription, observed that the space between the first and the second line is narrower than that between other lines. He suggests that the top line — whatever its contents — may be a later addition, squeezed in between the top of the column and line 2. If this is so, the shaft can have been only a few centimeters taller originally than it is at present.

²⁸² Vulić: 1st to 2nd century. Lietzmann: 2nd to 3rd century. Danov: follows Lietzmann. Marmorstein: 1st or 3rd century. Frey: 1st to 2nd century.

These datings are not based on the, very doubtful, reading of the first line (cf. above, footnote 278) but mostly on palaeography. Lietzmann and Marmorstein also use the name "Kl. Tiberios" as an argument, the former for a 2nd to 3rd century date, the latter for a 1st century date. On the other hand, Marmorstein points out that the exorbitant penalty imposed by Polycharmos indicates an inflationary period such as the 3rd century. The attempts at making the mentioning of the patriarch a clue for dating the inscription (Vulić, Petrović, Frey) have remained inconclusive because we cannot be certain that the dignitary referred to is the patriarch in Jerusalem and not a local official.

tion that Polycharmos would hardly have chosen an odd column in the atrium in order to place a dedicatory inscription. Petrović adds that if the inscription had been engraved when the column was already in its secondary use it would have been placed lower.

It remains only to decide whether the inscription originally belonged to an entirely different building or to an earlier phase of the same building. Nothing can be said against the former assumption. Vulić, Lietzmann, Petrović, and Danov all admit this possibility. But Lietzmann also suggests that the Christian basilica may have been erected over the ruins of a synagogue and Vulić and Petrović feel that there is a certain amount of agreement between the buildings mentioned in the inscription and those actually found. As long as we do not know more about the site this is indeed the only line of argument open to those who favor the fourth of the above-mentioned possibilities. Let us examine it in some detail.

Vulić says that the basilica might be the synagogue, and the atrium the tetrastoon added by Polycharmos. The other buildings founded by him, the triclinium and the "oikoi," may have been in the neighborhood. Petrović thinks that triclinium and tetrastoon may correspond to the "Summer Palace" and that the "oikoi" may be annexes of the basilica or buildings on the north side. On this latter suggestion some light must have been thrown by subsequent excavations. The report of the Archaeological Congress in Berlin in the summer of 1939 contains a ground plan of our basilica with two buildings on its north side which are briefly referred to in the text as "*Basilicae Geminatae*."²⁸³ The plan gives the year of excavation as 1937. If any other account of these finds exist it has not come to my knowledge. Judging by the plan the southern one of the two new basilicas is a very complex structure in which several building periods must be distinguished. It would be interesting to know whether any finds have been made which would indicate that the site was at one time occupied by the Jewish community.

As it is we have to confine ourselves to the buildings of which we have a more detailed knowledge. It is unlikely that the "Summer Palace" should be identical with the triclinium and the tetrastoon for chronological reasons. It is true that all we have is an approximate date for the mosaics.²⁸⁴ The building itself might be considerably older than 450 A.D. But in view of the similarity of the layout with that of the Partenos Palace it is unlikely that the structure antedates the mosaics by as many centuries as it would have to in order to be contemporary with the inscription. It might be different with the "Winter Palace," or at least with its earlier stratum. But

²⁸³ Cf. above, footnote 212.

²⁸⁴ Cf. above, p. 138.

we do not know enough either about its date or about its original layout to decide whether any of its parts might have been a tetrastoon or a triclinium though the term "oikoi" would fit almost any kind of structure.

There remains the basilica itself. Vulić's suggestion that the building as it stands may actually be the synagogue must be ruled out for chronological reasons. Nave and aisles, as well as the atrium columns themselves, were installed at least 200 years after the time of Polycharmos. We do not know what was in their place before. To probe the soil beneath the floor of the church would be the main task of any future investigation. But we can say for certain that if the synagogue ever occupied this site it was thoroughly rebuilt before it became the Christian basilica which we now see. To try to pass off the plan of the basilica as an illustration of the Stobi synagogue is at best like describing a plan of the Early Christian basilica of S. Giovanni in Laterano as a picture of the original Lateran Palace, and quite possibly like using S. Maria Maggiore for the same purpose.

But we have gained one valuable result in our analysis, namely, that the building has an earlier phase preceding the present basilica. We know that this earlier building was in existence around the middle of the fifth century. Nothing prevents us from assuming that it is much older, and that in fact it goes back to the period of the inscription. As far as we can tell from the published evidence there is nothing in the chronology of this structure which prevents us from assigning its earliest parts to the second or third century. And perhaps we can go a little further. The existence of the earlier phase was disclosed to us not only by the chronological relationship of the outer wall of the basilica to the "Summer Palace" next door (cf. above, p. 139), but also by the shape of the atrium (cf. above, p. 133). The atrium, then, has preserved something of the layout of the earlier building on the site; it tells us that whatever this building may have been it probably was not a church. Could it have been, as Vulić suggests, the tetrastoon of which the inscription speaks? In support of this suggestion we may quote an inscription commemorating the dedication of the atrium of Basilica A at Nicopolis by Bishop Dumetios.²⁸⁵ In this inscription the atrium is described as a "Tristoon." Logically, if this structure, which has the normal arrangement of a church atrium with porticoes on three sides, is a tristoon, ours might be a tetrastoon. Let us note in passing that, judging by the steps found in the east corridor our atrium also had an upper story, like the buildings of Polycharmos.

Thus the atrium, the only part of the pre-church structure which we can lay our hands on, looks as though it might have been originally part

²⁸⁵ *Ephemeris*, 1917, p. 66.

of Polycharmos' buildings. It has the required shape, and the archaeological evidence so far published does not prevent us from referring it to a sufficiently early date. It affords the one and only argument in favor of the assumption that the inscription does not come from an altogether different building and that the synagogue of Stobi once stood on the site of the later church.

But even this argument is none too strong. For one thing a stoa is usually taken to mean a colonnaded portico.²⁸⁶ Indeed the "tristoon" in Nicopolis has three colonnades. In our case it is doubtful whether originally there were any columns at all and one of the four walls is solid even now.

Furthermore the layout of the atrium reminded us of the atrium in the Partenios Palace and it should also be remembered that there were baths immediately to the east and that another palace was joined to the building on the south side. If no inscription had been found one would probably prefer to assume that the structure subsequently transformed into a basilica was originally also a purely secular building like its next door neighbors and like the Partenios Palace and that, although it must be earlier than the "Summer Palace," it belongs to the same general period, i.e. the fourth or early fifth century.²⁸⁷

A private palace of that period subsequently converted into a church would in itself be an interesting case. But it would mean that the inscription definitely has nothing to do with any of the existing structures. In the last resort our problem must remain undecided. Perhaps when Stobi is more thoroughly explored we shall know more about the buildings erected by its Jewish community, of which the column of Polycharmos is such an eloquent relic.

VII. CONCLUSION

We have reached the end of our survey of the city of Stobi in Early Christian times.²⁸⁸ Of Roman Stobi, the city as it existed before the fourth century, we still know comparatively little; we have the theater, perhaps

²⁸⁶ See Liddell and Scott, s.v. *τετράστοον*. Apart from the references given there, there is one from the *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Bonn, I, p. 494 f. (Bath of Zeuxippus built by Septimius Severus). For the use of the word stoa see H. L. Gordon, in *Art Bulletin*, 1931, p. 366 ff. and G. Downey, in *AJA*, 1937, p. 194 ff.

²⁸⁷ It has been mentioned before that there is no plan or air view showing the "Synagogue" complex in relation to the surrounding streets. But the general direction is the same as that of the theater and the palaces, and perhaps in these buildings (and the Basilicae Geminatae next door) another large block of the late Roman city has been recovered. Cf. above, p. 128 f.

²⁸⁸ Two more basilicas which are not within the city walls cannot be discussed in detail, since they are not adequately published. Outside the northwest gate and near the Christian cemetery (cf. above, footnote 14) is a church which was first explored by German troops in

the layout of the colonnaded street and exedra, perhaps also the earlier strata of the "Synagogue" complex, and, as the most telling documents, a great many inscriptions and statues re-used in later periods. It seems that much building and rebuilding was done during the late fourth and fifth centuries, the period of the great palaces. But these new buildings were fitted into a wall and street system which presumably goes back to Roman times even though it was subsequently rebuilt. The Episcopal Church is the first and, it seems, so far the only building which contradicts this plan. It is also the earliest Christian monument of Stobi which we can date with some accuracy. If the crosses on the impostes of the big palace (cf. above, pp. 120 and 124) could be shown to be a feature of the original structure they would be evidence of Christian building activities at a considerably earlier period. But of the churches in and around Stobi probably none is earlier than the fifth century. The "Synagogue" church is not earlier than the Episcopal Church, perhaps more or less contemporary, and possibly later. On the other hand, there is up to now no evidence of any building activity in Stobi after the sixth century. Paintings may have been added to the Episcopal Church during the seventh or early eighth centuries, and sculptures possibly even later (cf. above, pp. 100, 108 ff.). But there are no later buildings. On the contrary, the Episcopal Church was later very much reduced in size.²⁸⁹

Apparently we are dealing with a city which was so prosperous in late

1917/18 (cf. *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, II, p. 162 f.; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Stobi, col. 53) and again in recent years by the Yugoslavs (cf. *Bericht über den 6. Internationalen Kongress* . . . p. 593). All we have, apart from a very brief description, is a ground plan (*Bericht*, Pl. 67b), a view of the mosaic (*Kunstschutz*, p. 158) which might be roughly contemporary with that of the Episcopal Church (cf. *BIAB*, 1936, fig. 173) and an illustration of an inscribed tombstone (*JOAI*, 1933, p. 136 f., no. 7). The building was 29m. in length and 17.20m. in width and had the same orientation as the Episcopal Church. There were 36 tombs below floor level and, to the right of the narthex on a lower level, a cross-vaulted crypt with arcosolia. Dragendorff and Saria both suggest a 5th century date for this church.

The other basilica is in Palikura (Manastiriste), ten minutes southwest of Stobi. It was excavated by German troops in 1916; a ground plan, several views and illustrations of details, as well as a brief description, were published by Hald in his monograph. There is also a general view in *Kunstschutz im Kriege* II, p. 157, and Saria has given a brief description of the building in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Stobi, col. 53. He speaks of an octagonal baptistery and numerous annexes which according to Egger (*JOAI*, 1929, p. 42) may be the remains of a monastery. There was an earlier level, 85cm. beneath the present level, to which two marble blocks and several column bases belonged (cf. Hald, fig. 18). Hald, fig. 22 right (top view of a frieze fragment re-used as an impost, of which a front view appears on fig. 29, lower piece) should be compared with *JOAI*, 1929, fig. 65 (a frieze fragment in secondary use in the Episcopal Church). If the two pieces belong to one and the same frieze this might be an indication that the Palikura church was built at approximately the same period as the Episcopal Church. No date has been suggested in the literature on the Palikura church.

²⁸⁹ *JOAI*, 1929, p. 78.

Roman and early Byzantine times that the earlier strata were largely superseded. Its most flourishing period lies between the late fourth and the early sixth centuries. After that time there must have been a fairly rapid decline. How does this result compare with what history tells us about Stobi?

Saria has conveniently summarized the history of the town in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine times.²⁹⁰ Referred to by Pliny as "oppidum civium Romanorum" Stobi had its own coinage from the Flavian period down to the time of Elagabalus. The city must have been of some importance commercially. On the coins it is described as a municipium, but subsequently it must have been raised to the rank of a colony; it was one of five Macedonian cities which possessed the *Ius Italicum*.²⁹¹ Probably some time in the fourth century the province of Macedonia II (*Salutaris*) was created;²⁹² it existed until some time in the sixth century and Stobi is said to have been its capital.²⁹³ In 388, Theodosius I issued two laws from Stobi.²⁹⁴ These two traditions — its rise to the rank of a provincial capital and the Emperor's visit — may perhaps suggest an increased importance of the town just at the time when some of the earlier Roman city blocks seem to have undergone a thorough rebuilding. The next political event is the sacking of the town by Theodoric in 479 A.D.²⁹⁵ Thereafter we have no definite mention of the town in any worldly capacity, except for a passing reference in Cedrenus' description of the wars of Basilus II.²⁹⁶

In the ecclesiastical field we know of bishops of Stobi taking part in various Councils during every century from the fourth to the seventh. Accord-

²⁹⁰ Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Stobi.

²⁹¹ For this point see also J. A. O. Larsen, in T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV (1938), pp. 449, 459.

²⁹² The date 386 A.D. given by Saria for this event seems to go back to a suggestion of Th. Mommsen (*Gesammelte Schriften* V (1908), p. 580). The province is mentioned for the first time in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (ed. Boecking, 1839-53, I, pp. 7, 14; ed. O. Seeck, 1876, pp. 5, 10; for the date of the *Notitia* see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Not. Dig.*: mainly 395 A.D., but some additions as late as 433 A.D.). In all previous lists of provinces, the latest of which seems to reflect the state of affairs in 385/86, Macedonia still appears undivided (cf. E. Gerland, *Die Genesis der Notitia Episcopatum* = *Corpus Notitiarum Episcopatum*, I, 1, 1931, p. 41).

²⁹³ This latter statement which has been repeated by many writers is apparently not based on the passage in Malchus (ed. Bonn, p. 245), a passage which could be interpreted differently, but on the fact that Hierocles (before 535 A.D.) lists it as the first of eight cities of Macedonia II (ed. Bonn, p. 391). Cf. L. Holstenius, *Notae et Castigationes in Steph. Byz. Ἑθνικά* (1684), p. 304; J. Zeiller, *Les Origines Chrétiennes dans les Provinces Danubiennes* (1918), p. 163.

²⁹⁴ Cf. also above, p. 115 f.

²⁹⁵ Malchus, ed. Bonn, p. 245.

²⁹⁶ *Hist.*, ed. Bonn, II, p. 461.

ing to Grujić ²⁹⁷ the city was during that period a metropolis with three eparchies. The last time we hear of a bishop of Stobi is in 692.

Historically speaking, then, the city had two consecutive eras of relative splendor and prosperity, the Roman and the early Byzantine. Archaeologically speaking there is ample evidence of the latter, so much in fact that it has all but absorbed the relics of the former. But archaeologically too the place sinks into obscurity after the seventh century. It should be noted in passing that none of the excavation reports records the finding of any coins later than the seventh century.

Much work remains to be done in Stobi. There must still be large areas of the city which have not been touched by the spade at all, and even those buildings which have been excavated will repay renewed investigation. I need only mention such problems as the original layout of the crypt of the Episcopal Church, the building phases of the northwest gate, and the earlier stratum of the "Synagogue" basilica. Above all we must have fuller and better publications.

It is obvious that there are a great many questions to which the ruins of Stobi may eventually give us an answer. "There exists a vast corpus of material of monuments dating from this crucial transition period between the Late Antique and the Justinian period to which very little attention has been given and which in comparison with other groups of monuments offers an ideal field for successful research." ²⁹⁸ It is precisely to this "crucial transition period" that the majority of buildings in Stobi belong. A town situated within the general orbit of Byzantium, prosperous in the fourth, fifth and early sixth centuries, yet sufficiently stagnant afterwards that the traces of this period of prosperity were not obliterated — such a town offers singular opportunities indeed for research in early Byzantine art and archaeology. Stobi allows us a glimpse into public and domestic life of the time. We see not only churches but streets and squares (even if these are Roman ones remodelled), monuments, palaces, and ordinary houses. We get an entirely new idea of Early Christian domestic architecture, both of the upper and the lower classes. In addition we have a rich series of mosaic pavements of various dates which permit us to trace the development of style and taste in ornament over a continuous stretch of 100 or 150 years prior to the Golden Age of Justinian. We found that the sculpture of the Episcopal Church is also of great importance as an example of Justinian art in the making. But to trace the development of style

²⁹⁷ *Narodna Enciklopedija Srpsko-Hrvatsko-Slovenačka*, s.v. Stobiska Metropolija. — I have not been able to trace the source of this statement.

²⁹⁸ W. R. Koehler, in *Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art*, IX, 4 (March 1941), p. 82.

in the decorative arts of the Balkans from the fourth to the sixth centuries is a task for the future.

The great question to which the historian of Byzantine art hopes eventually to obtain an answer concerns the position as between East and West of the Balkans in general and Constantinople in particular. How thoroughly did the Balkan cities become Latinized under Roman rule? Or were they on the contrary a source, or at least a channel, through which Greek influence flowed to Rome in the early centuries of our era? Was there a current going eastward from Rome at the time Constantinople was founded? Or did Constantinople get all its strength from the East and did the hinterland in turn become dependent on the new capital?

It is easy to see how much light a more intensive exploration of a place like Stobi — situated, it must be remembered, not far from the Egnatian Way, the main artery between the two halves of the Empire — might throw on these problems. Let us rapidly pass in review, from the standpoint of this great question of East versus West, the finds made so far. Of pre-Roman Stobi we know nothing, of Roman Stobi very little. We have a second century theater which seems to be of an Eastern rather than a Western type,²⁹⁹ we have a street net which perhaps goes back to the second or third century and which at the present state of our knowledge we cannot call definitely Greek or Roman, and we have a great many inscriptions, mostly from the second and third centuries; these are almost all in Greek, a small number in Latin, one or two are bilingual. A few of them testify to the presence of veterans from the Roman army who had been settled in this region. Other traces of the Roman conquest in these inscriptions are the names, which are often Latin, even when spelled in Greek letters. But at present the general impression is that the Romanization never went very deep.³⁰⁰

But what happened in the fourth century? What, if anything, are we to make for instance of a general relationship between mosaics in Stobi and in Aquileia (cf. above, note 258)? Is this relationship a sign that Italian artists travelled East, or is Aquileia to be regarded as a western outpost of Greek art? And what about the plan of the Partenos Palace, with its "Roman" atrium (so-called) and its "Antiochene" basins? Were the Balkan cities at that time really a meeting-place between East and West? And may we draw conclusions from this as to what happened in Byzantium when it suddenly became the capital of the world?

We saw that around 500 A.D. Stobi, in its Episcopal Church, provides

²⁹⁹ Cf. Saria, in *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 147.

³⁰⁰ Saria, *ibid.*

what seems to be a fairly revealing mirror of Constantinopolitan art of that period (see above, p. 106 f.). If the same is true of the earlier period, if already in the fourth and early fifth centuries the art of the new capital is reflected in places in the interior of the Balkan peninsula, then indeed Stobi and similar sites hold a most precious clue to the origins and the earliest history of the art of Byzantium, of which Constantinople itself can tell us so little. It is considerations such as these which make the Partenos Palace, the Double Apse Building, and the "Summer Palace" so important, more important perhaps even than the Episcopal Church. With the help of such monuments it may be possible one day to solve a great many questions concerning the earliest history of Byzantine art.

APPENDIX I

ON THE DATE OF THE ABANDONMENT OF THE ROMAN THEATER

An account of the excavations in the theater was published by Saria (*Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 81 ff.).¹ In this Saria establishes the following tentative chronology for the theater:

First built: 1st half of 2nd century (probably Hadrian).^{1a}

First changes: 2nd half of 2nd century (inscription in Room C).

Later changes: early 4th century, when building was adapted for venationes.

Saria has observed even later changes which, however, do not interest us here, since they may date from a period when parts of the theater were already used as a quarry. If Saria is right in assuming that the changes by which the building was adapted for venationes took place in the early fourth century, we should be justified in concluding that it was not used as a quarry for at least some time after that date. Unfortunately his opinion does not rest on very firm ground. It is mainly based on Weigand's dating of a Corinthian capital,² which, however, may not belong to the building at all. But we may be able to prove the existence of a fourth century building period in the theater in a different way. In the Episcopal Church were found a number of pilaster capitals (figs. 211 to 215), obviously in secondary use since they are earlier in style than any of the carvings made for the building.³ One would naturally assume that they come from the theater, together with practically all the other spoils in the church, and this assumption is strengthened when we hear that pilaster capitals similar to those in the church were actually found in the excavation of the theater in the rooms behind the *scenae frons*.⁴ May we not, therefore, in the absence of illustrations showing the pilaster capitals from the theater, use these spoils from the church as being equally authentic parts of the theater? If they should turn out to be later than the second century, could

¹ Saria refers to a detailed report in *Godisnjak Muzeja Juzne Srbije*, I (1937), p. 1 ff. This publication was not accessible to me.

^{1a} For a criticism of this dating see E. Dyggve, "Den senantike Faellesscene belyst ved teatret i Stobi og ved diptychonfremstillinger" (*Studier fra Sprog- og Oldtidsforskning*, 179), Copenhagen, 1938, pp. 22 ff., n. 13. Dyggve is inclined to date the original building in the 3rd century (wall-technique, style of capitals), and to eliminate Saria's period 2 altogether.

² *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, fig. 30.

³ *JOAI*, 1929, figs. 61-64; 1933, fig. 48. See above, footnote 74.

⁴ *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 113, 116.

they not be used to determine the date of later building activities in the theater? The problem is complicated by the fact that the pilaster capitals in the church are not uniform in style. While for the capital shown in fig. 215 a date about 200 A.D. has been suggested by Egger (*JOAI*, 1929, p. 65), that in fig. 211 is regarded by Saria as being not earlier than the early fifth century (*JOAI*, 1933, p. 118). This latter date is perhaps too low; the capital belongs together with those in figs. 212–214, which seem to belong to the fourth century judging by their style.⁵ In order to decide whether they all come from the theater we would have to know whether among the capitals actually found on that site there are also the same two stylistic groups. But fortunately we can make sure that at least the capitals of fourth century style, which alone interest us here, actually come from the theater.

Saria has published a fragment of an odd pilaster capital decorated with a human figure (fig. 216).⁶ Considering that the figure represents a gladiator and that the capital was found in Room D behind the *scenae frons*,⁷ it is difficult to understand Saria's hesitation⁸ in accepting it as a carving made for the theater. Surely here we have an authentic part of that structure. Now this capital certainly belongs to the same series as the fourth century spoils in the church; it shares with the capital in fig. 212 the measurements and the characteristic shape of the helices and with those in figs. 213 and 214 the equally characteristic rendering of the abacus; it shares with all these capitals, as well as with that in fig. 211 the design of the half palmettes, although in this respect no two pieces in the group are exactly alike. There can be no doubt that the pilaster capitals in the Episcopal Church were originally carved for the theater and there must consequently have been building activity on that site in the fourth century.

The theater probably remained in use for some time after the changes were made. But we do not know for how long. At any time in the course of the fifth century it may have become available as a quarry.

⁵ Note for instance that the lobes of the acanthus leaves still have four tips, but they fan out and touch with their tips those of the adjoining leaves. The earliest possible comparison would be certain capitals from the Palace of Diocletian (Hébrard-Zeiller, *Spalato, Le Palais de Dioclétien*, 1912, p. 64). But a 4th century date is much more likely: cf. Weigand, *Ath. Mitt.*, 39, 1914, pp. 22 ff.; H. Kähler, *Die Römischen Kapitelle des Rheingebietes* (1939), Pl. 16, nos. 4–8, and p. 90.

⁶ *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, fig. 23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 116.

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* Not seen by me. — E. K.

Double Apse Building:

G. Mano Zissi

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"Synagogue" Complex:

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- B. Filov in *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens* (Festschrift J. Strzygowski), 1923, p. 33.*
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- G. Mano Zissi in *Bericht über den 6. Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie Berlin 21.–26. August 1939*, 1940, p. 593.
- Palikura Church:
- Hald *Auf den Trümmern Stobis*, 1917, p. 29 ff.
- H. Dragendorff in P. Clemen, *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, II, 1919, p. 162 (fig. p. 157). (The same in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 54, 1919.)
- B. Filov in *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens* (Festschrift J. Strzygowski), 1923, p. 33.
- B. Saria in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Stobi, col. 53.
- R. Egger in *JOAI*, 1929, p. 42.

Synopsis of articles in *Starinar* and in the *Godisnjak* of the Royal Serbian Academy. (Most of these references are included in the bibliographies of individual structures.)

Starinar

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| VI, 1931, pp. 109–114 | (Nestorović: Palace) |
| VII, 1932, pp. 81–86 | (Petrović: "Synagogue") |
| ibid., pp. 86–87 | (Durić: Episcopal Church, frescoes) |
| VIII/IX, 1933/34, pp. 8–13 | (Saria: "Synagogue" complex, capital) |

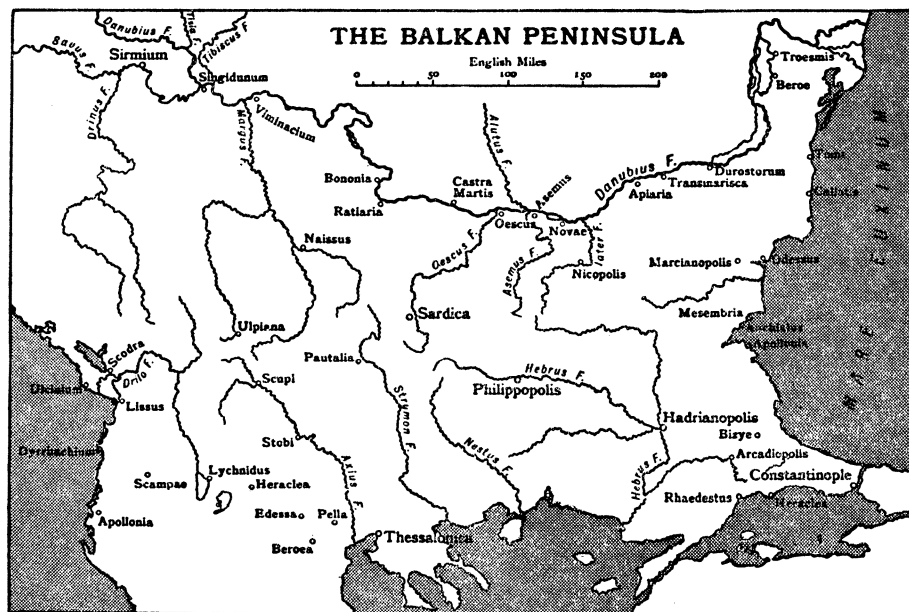
* Reference is made here to a report by Oberstleutnant Zwenger, in *Berliner Lokalanzeiger*, June 3, 1917. Not seen by me. — E. K.

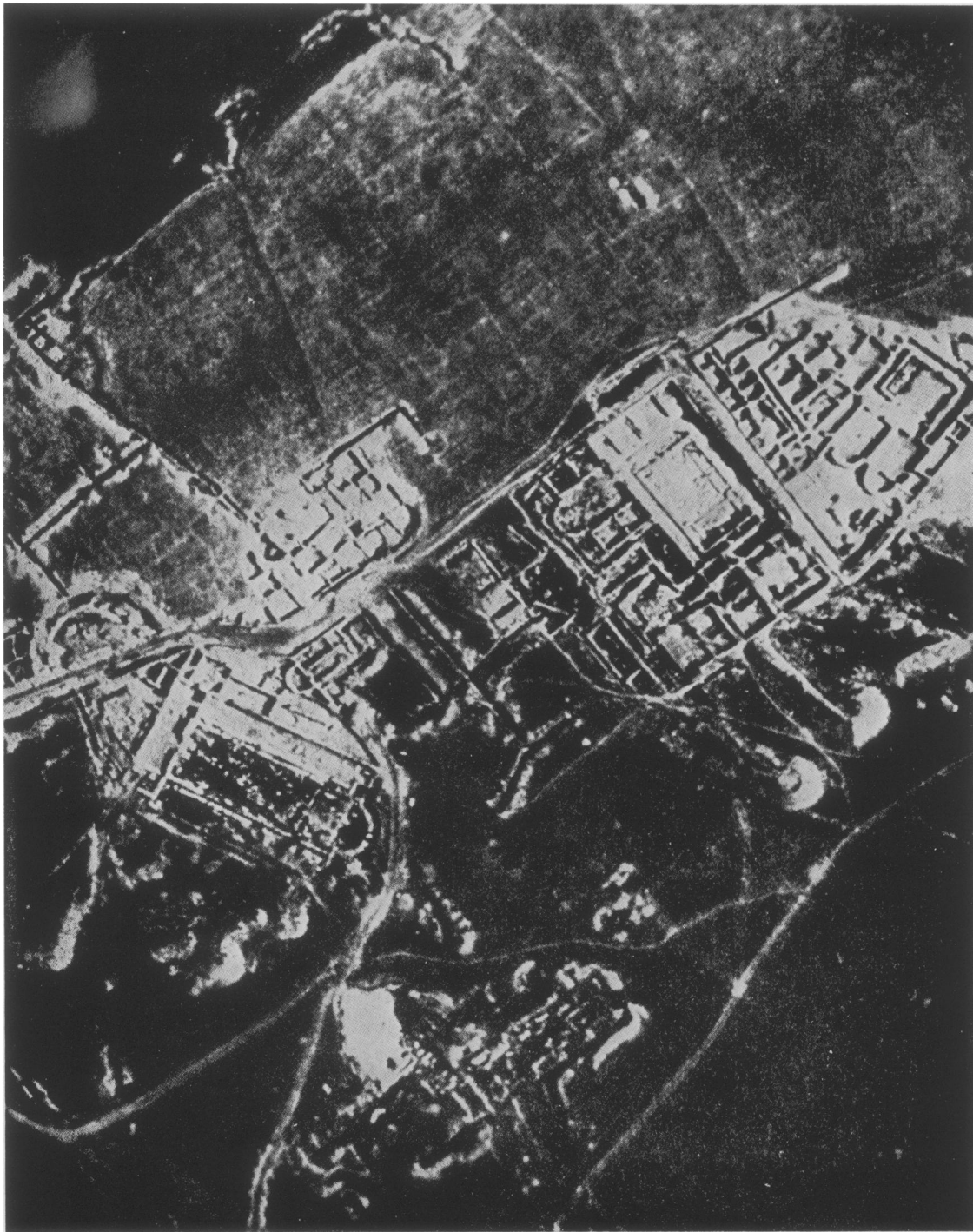
- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| VIII/IX, 1933/34, pp. 169–191 | (Petrović: “Synagogue” complex) |
| ibid., pp. 244–248 | (Mano Zissi: Episcopal Church and Palace, frescoes) |
| ibid., pp. 249–254 | (Mano Zissi: “Synagogue” complex, mosaics) |
| X/XI, 1935/36, pp. 145–170 | (Mano Zissi: Northwest Gate, Streets, Episcopal Church) |
| XII, 1937, pp. 12–35 | (Petković: Palace, sculptures) |
| XIII, 1938 | nothing.** |

Godisnjak

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 34, 1925, p. 320 f. | (Saria: Report on 1925) |
| 35, 1926, p. 306 f. | (Saria: Report on 1926) |
| 36, 1927 | nothing |
| 37, 1928, pp. 188 ff. | (Petković: Report on 1927) |
| ibid., pp. 220 ff. | (Petković: Report on 1928) |
| 38, 1929, pp. 231 ff. | (Petković: Report on 1929) |
| 39, 1930, pp. 188 ff. | (Petković: Report on 1930) |
| 40, 1931, pp. 221 ff. | (Petković: Report on 1931) |
| ibid., pp. 231 f. | (Petrović: Report on 1931) |
| 41, 1932, pp. 208 ff. | (Petković: Report on 1932) |
| ibid., pp. 234 f. | (Mano Zissi: Report on 1932) |
| 42, 1933, pp. 250 f. | (Petković: Report on 1933) |
| ibid., pp. 262 f. | (Mano Zissi: On objects brought to Museum in 1933) |
| ibid., pp. 270 f. | (Mano Zissi: Report on 1933) |
| 43, 1934, p. 241 | (Petković) |
| ibid., pp. 251 ff. | (Mano Zissi: Report on 1934) |
| 44, 1935 | nothing ** |

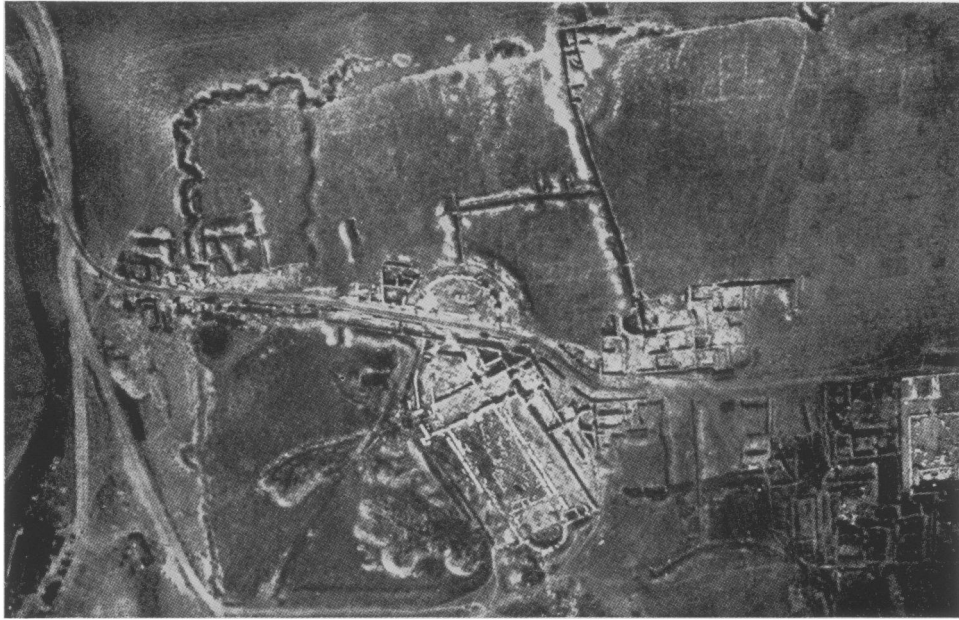
** No later volumes seen by me. — E. K.



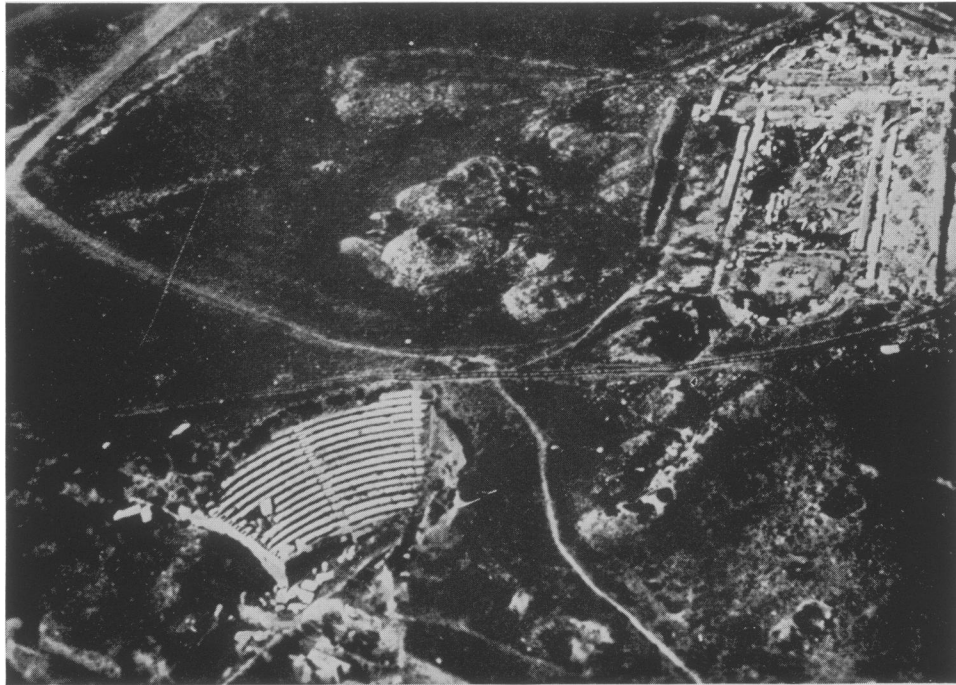


124. STOBI, AIRVIEW 1934

LEFT, EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND EXEDRA; RIGHT, PALACE AND
"DOUBLE APSE BUILDING"; BELOW, THEATER

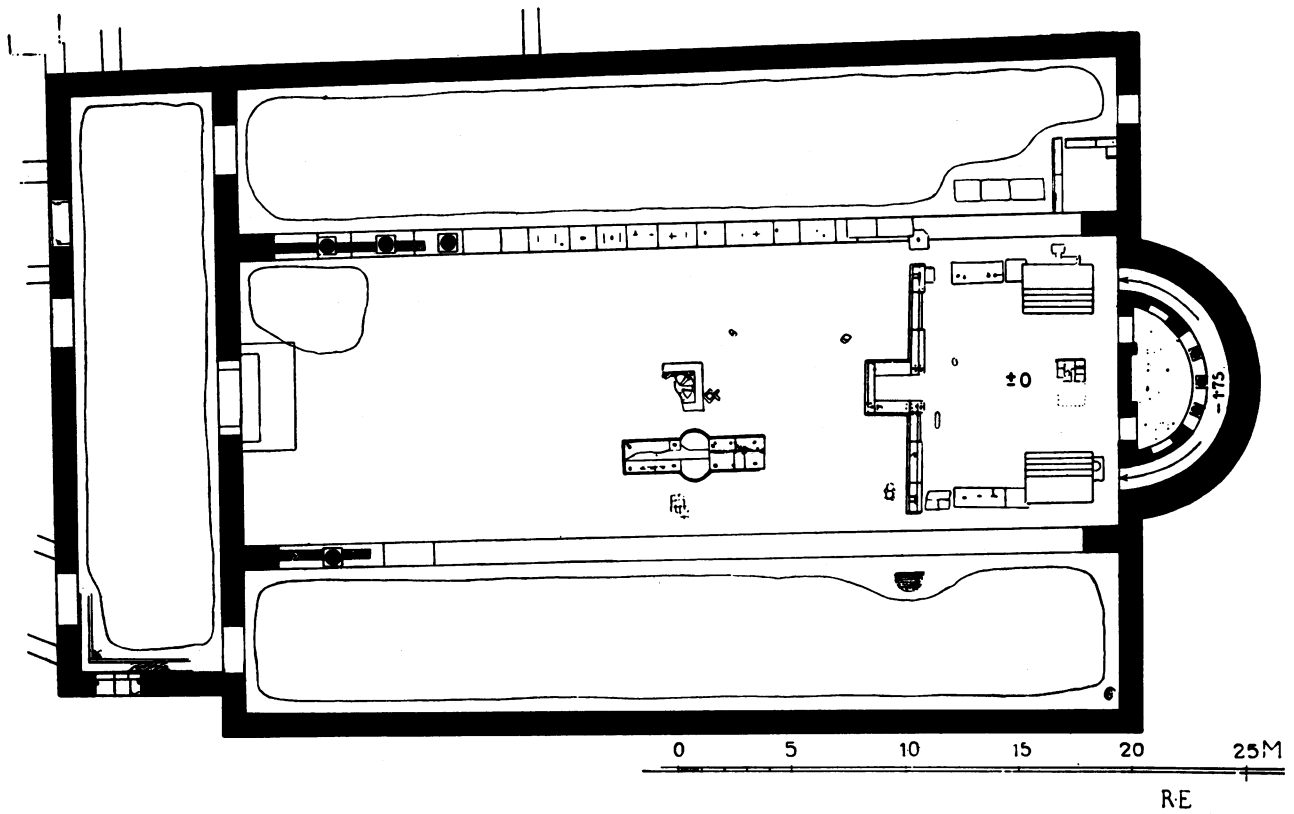


125. LEFT, NORTHWEST GATE; CENTER, EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND EXEDRA; RIGHT, PALACE



126. LEFT, THEATER; RIGHT, EPISCOPAL CHURCH

STOBI, AIRVIEWS 1934 OR LATER



127. GROUND PLAN (R. EGGER, 1925)

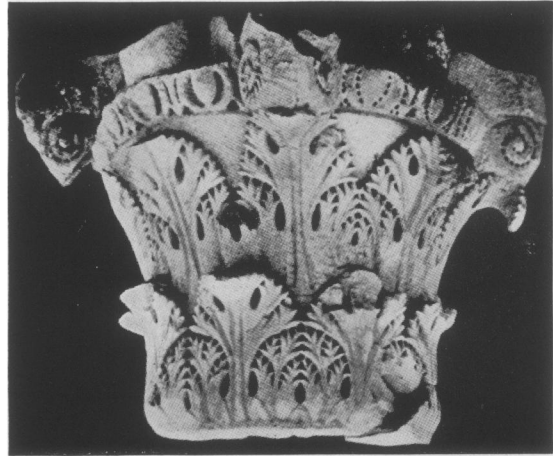


128. VIEW OF APSE AND CONFESSION

STOBI, EPISCOPAL CHURCH



129. CAPITAL ATTRIBUTED TO NAVE COLONNADE



130. CAPITAL ATTRIBUTED TO NAVE COLONNADE



131. IONIC IMPOST CAPITAL ATTRIBUTED
TO GALLERIES



132. IONIC IMPOST CAPITAL ATTRIBUTED
TO GALLERIES



133. IONIC IMPOST CAPITAL ATTRIBUTED
TO GALLERIES



134. IMPOST ATTRIBUTED TO NAVE

STOBI, EPISCOPAL CHURCH: STONECARVINGS



135. STOBI, EPISCOPAL CHURCH, IONIC IMPOST CAPITAL ATTRIBUTED TO GALLERIES



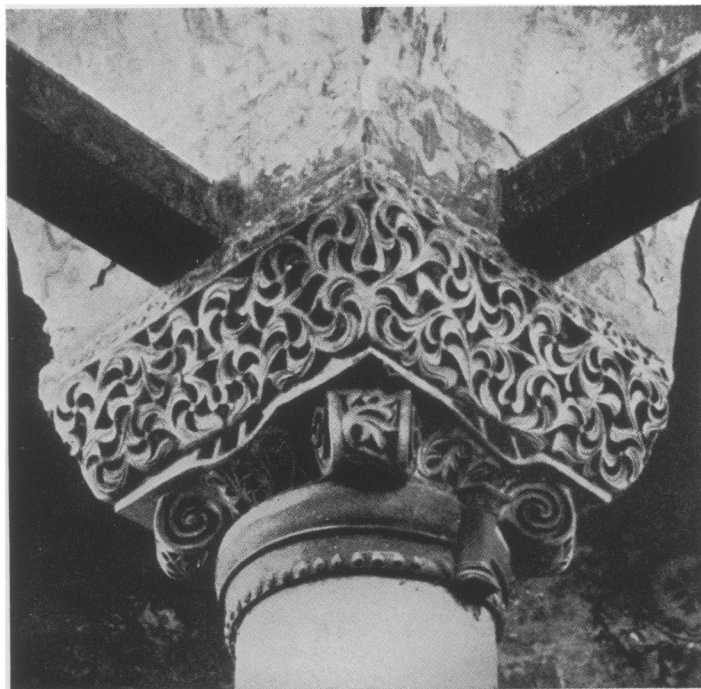
137. STOBI, EPISCOPAL CHURCH, IONIC IMPOST CAPITAL ATTRIBUTED TO GALLERIES



136. SALONIKA, H. DIMITRIOS, CAPITAL



138. STOBI, EPISCOPAL CHURCH, FRAGMENT ATTRIBUTED TO CHANCEL SCREEN

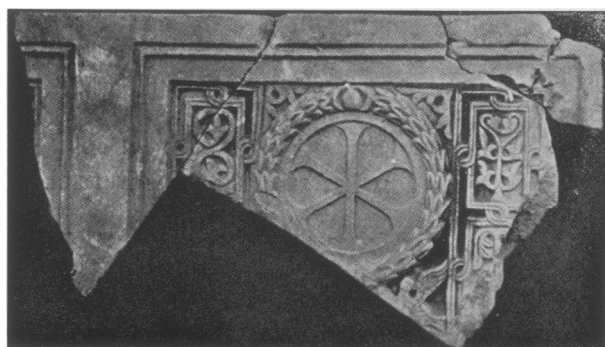


139. CONSTANTINOPLE, H. SOPHIA, CAPITAL IN GALLERY

STOBI, EPISCOPAL CHURCH: COMPARED WITH SCULPTURES ELSEWHERE



140. FRAGMENT ATTRIBUTED TO CHANCEL SCREEN



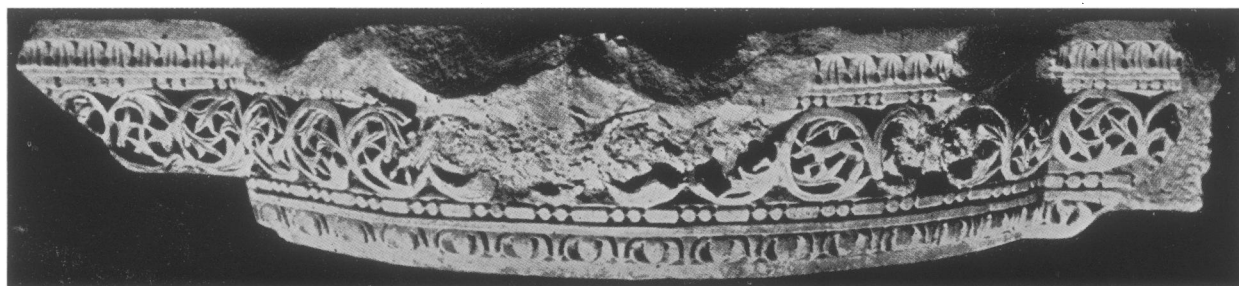
141. PARAPET SLAB ATTRIBUTED TO GALLERIES



142. PARAPET SLAB ATTRIBUTED TO GALLERIES

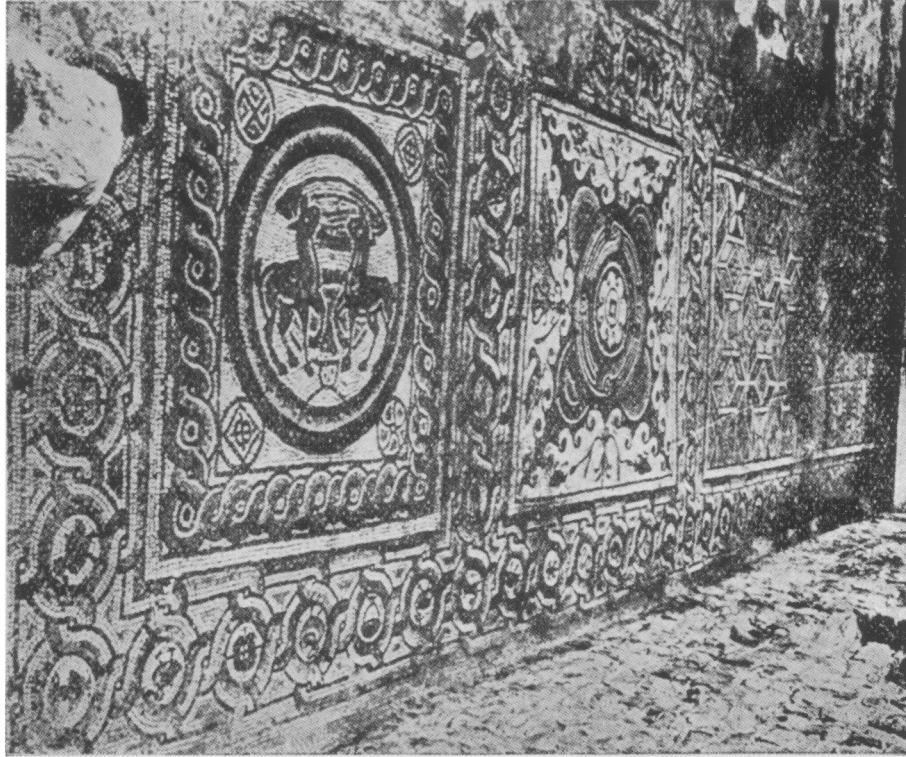


143. PARAPET SLAB ATTRIBUTED TO GALLERIES



144. AMBO, PLATFORM

STOBI, EPISCOPAL CHURCH: STONECARVINGS



145. GENERAL VIEW



146. DETAIL

STOBI, EPISCOPAL CHURCH: MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN CENTRAL PART OF NARTHEX

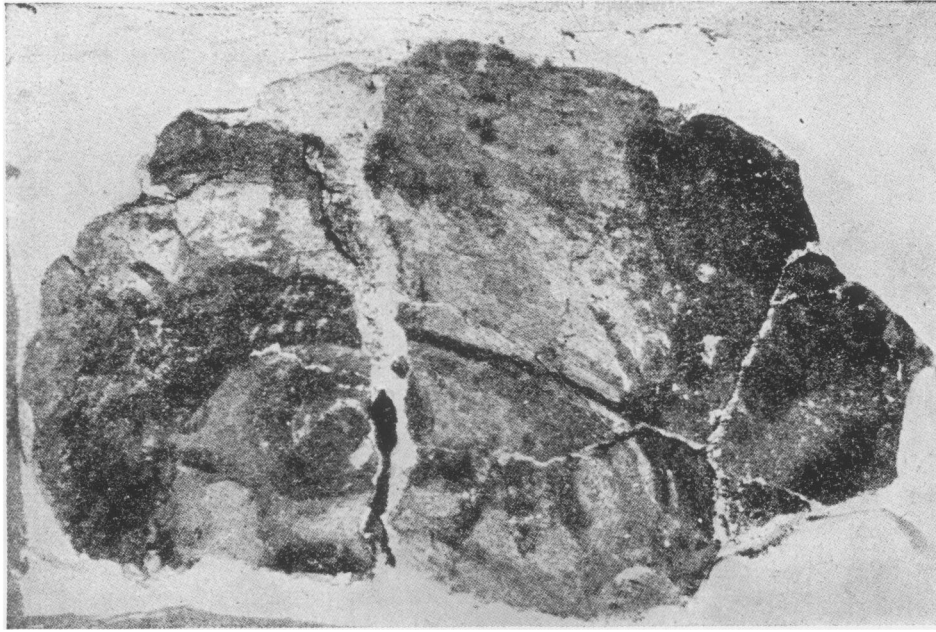


147. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN CENTRAL PART OF NARTHEX, DETAIL



148. FRAGMENT OF FRESCO FOUND IN NARTHEX

STOBI, EPISCOPAL CHURCH

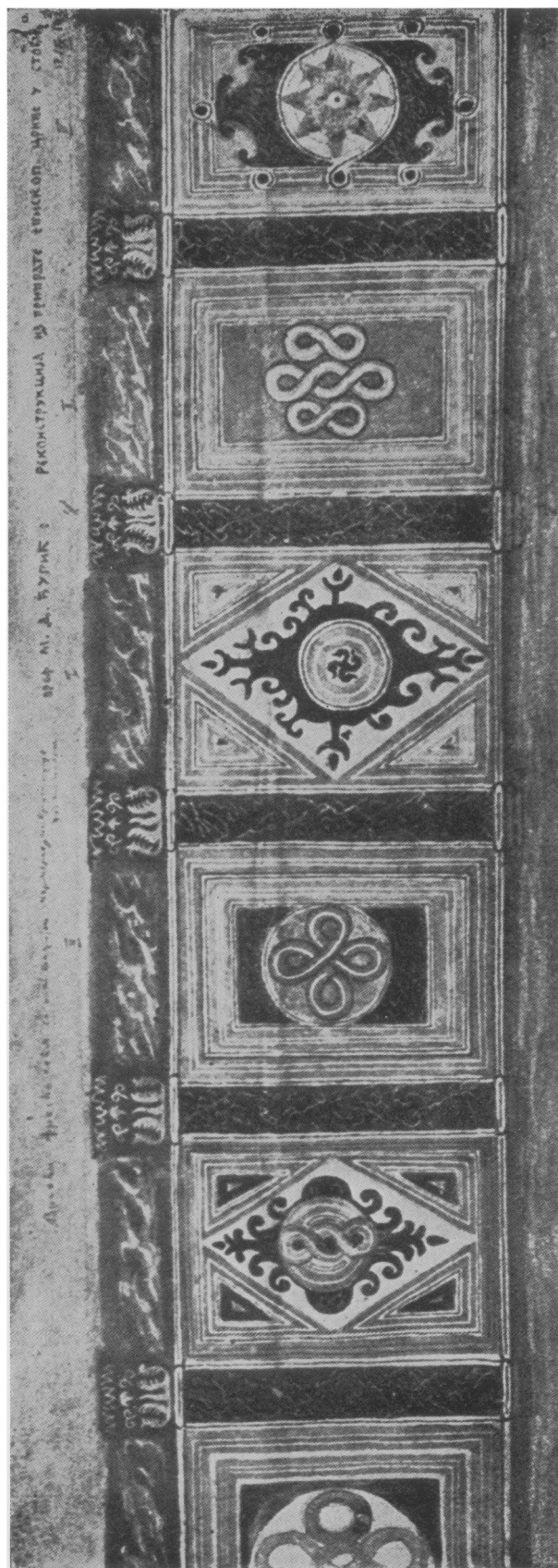


149. FRAGMENT OF FRESCO FOUND IN NARTHEX



150. FRAGMENT OF FRESCO FOUND IN NARTHEX

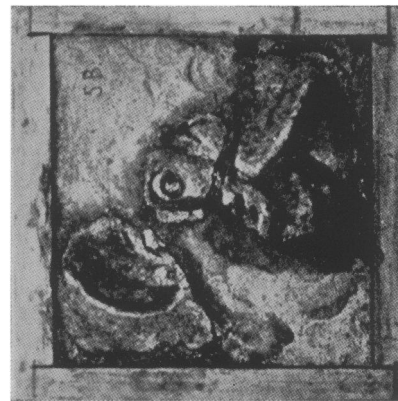
STOBI, EPISCOPAL CHURCH



151. RECONSTRUCTION OF WALL DECORATION IN NARTHEX

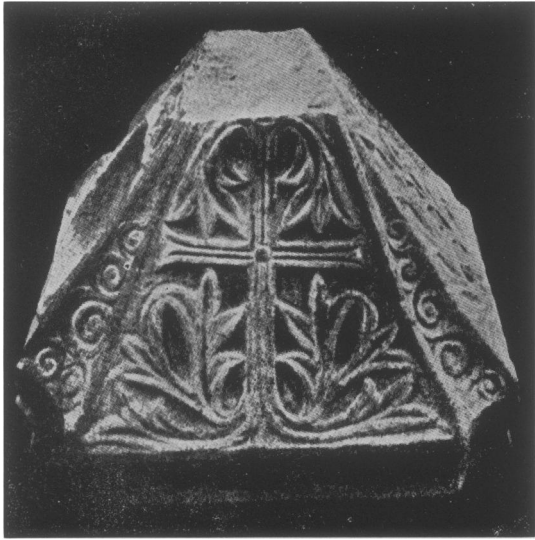


152. FRAGMENT FOUND IN NARTHEX

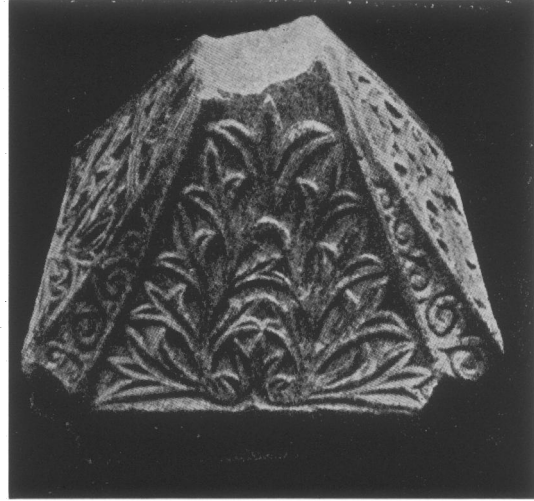


153. FRAGMENT FOUND IN NAVE

STOBI, EPISCOPAL CHURCH: FRESCOES



154



155

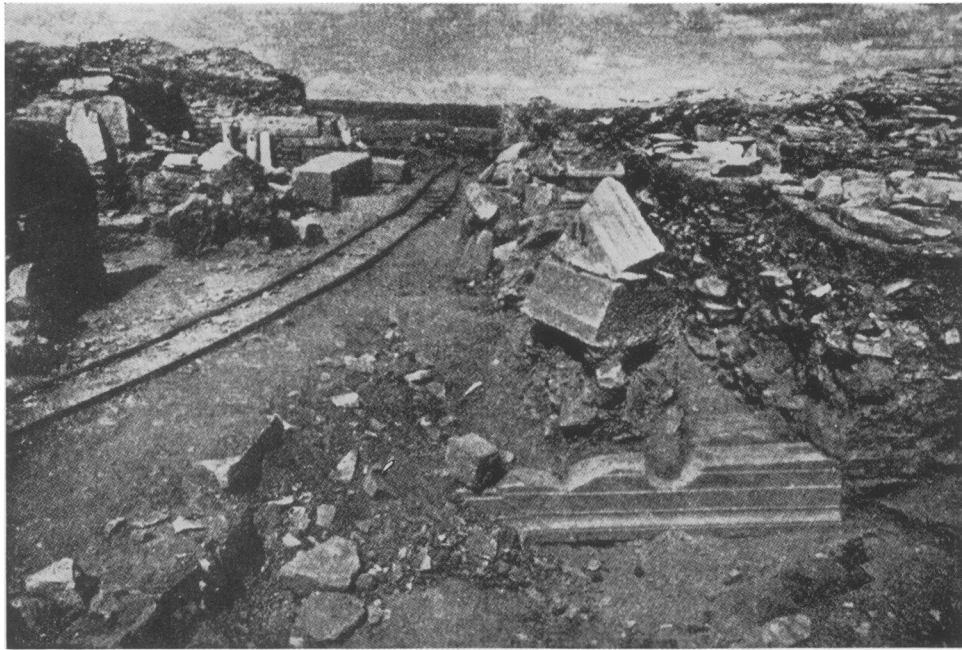


156



157

STOBI, STONE OBJECT FOUND IN EXEDRA IN FRONT OF EPISCOPAL CHURCH

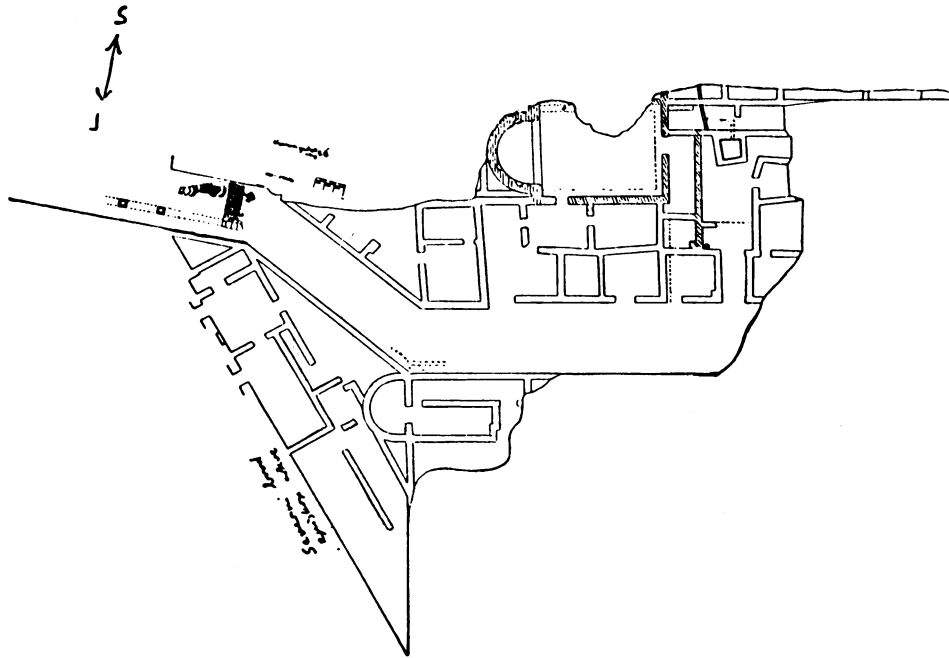


158. NORTHWEST GATE, FROM THE WEST



159. VIEW OF EXEDRA; IN THE BACKGROUND, TO THE RIGHT, ENTRANCE
TO EPISCOPAL CHURCH

STOBI, GATE AND STREET

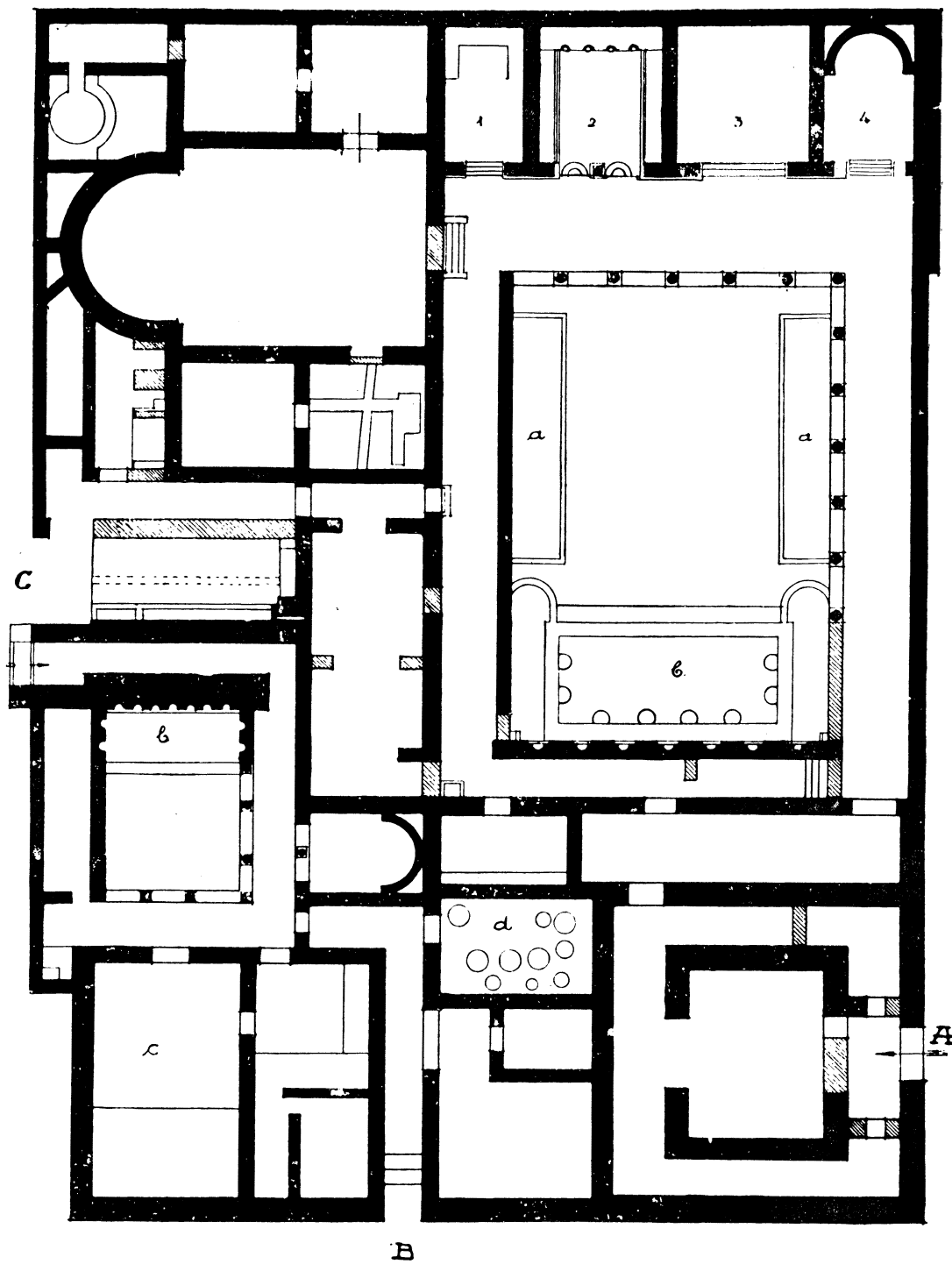


160. SKETCH PLAN OF STREET AND HOUSES; TO THE LEFT, NORTH
ANNEXES OF EPISCOPAL CHURCH

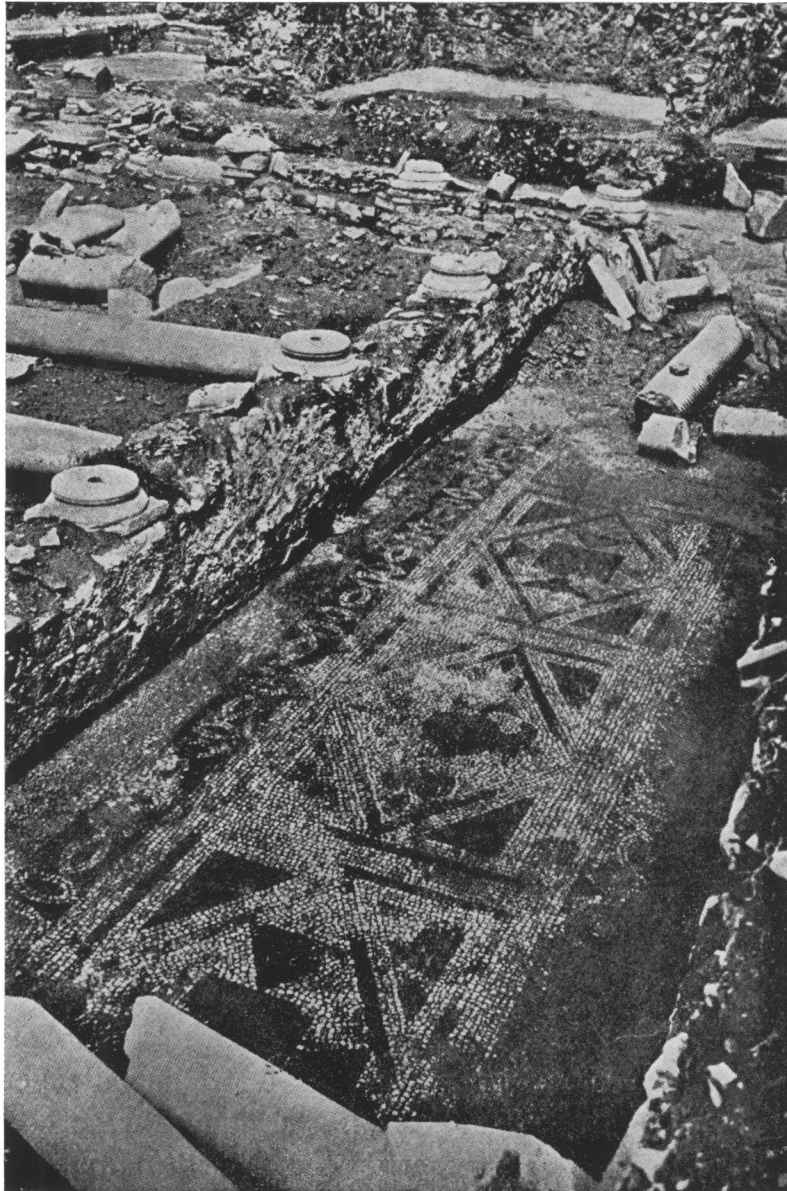


161. VIEW OF APSID ROOM IN HOUSE NORTH OF STREET

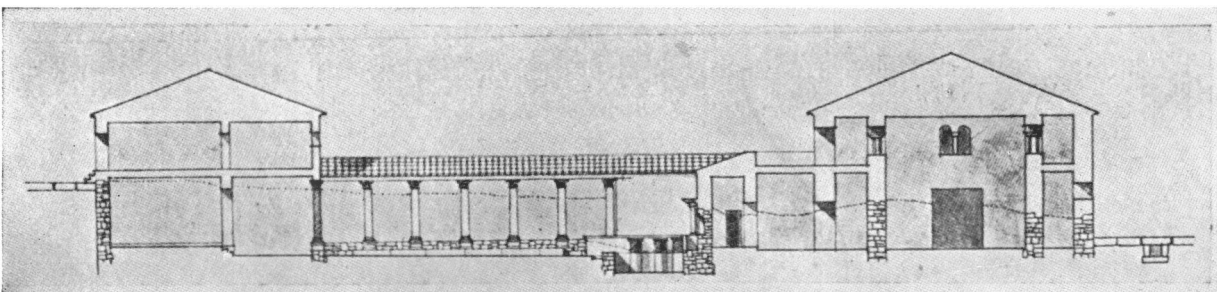
STOBI, STREET N. E. OF EPISCOPAL CHURCH



162. STOBI, PALACE: GROUNDPLAN

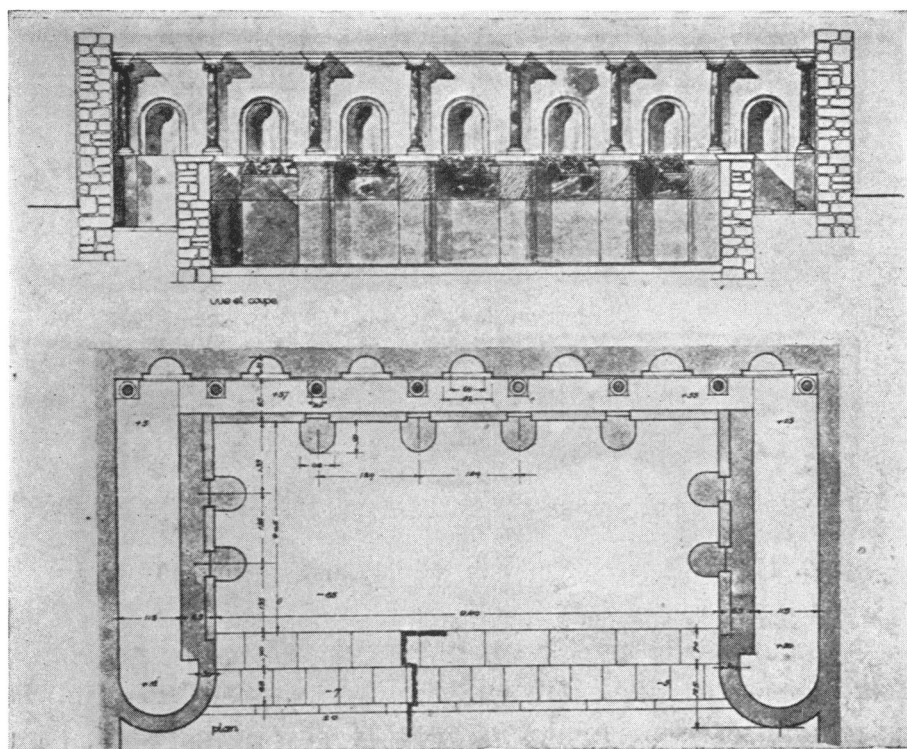


163. LARGE PERISTYLE, VIEW OF EAST PORTICO

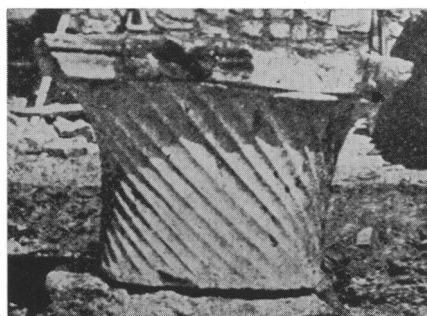


164. LONGITUDINAL SECTION, RECONSTRUCTED

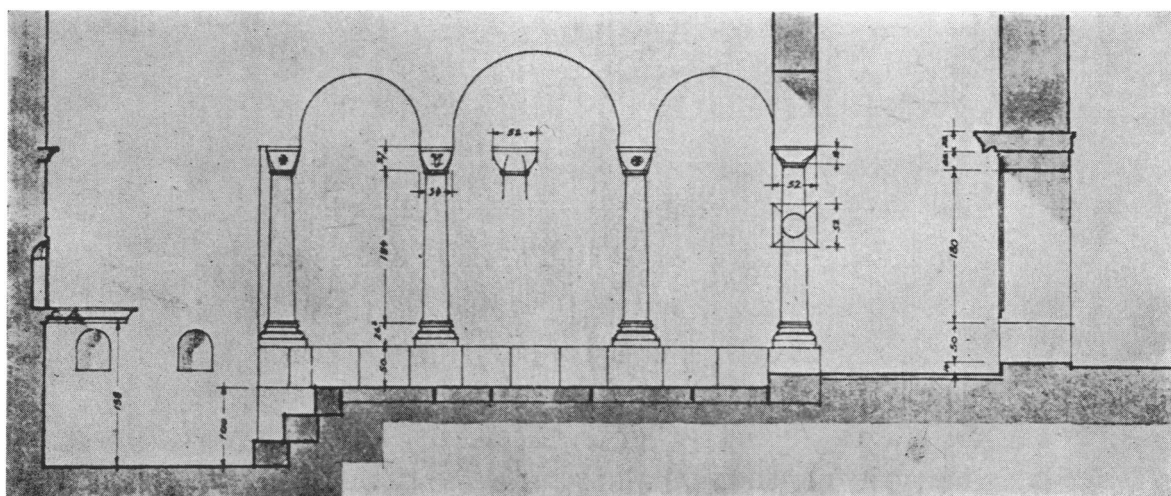
STOBI, PALACE



165. LARGE PERISTYLE, SOUTH WALL WITH BASIN, GROUNDPLAN AND ELEVATION

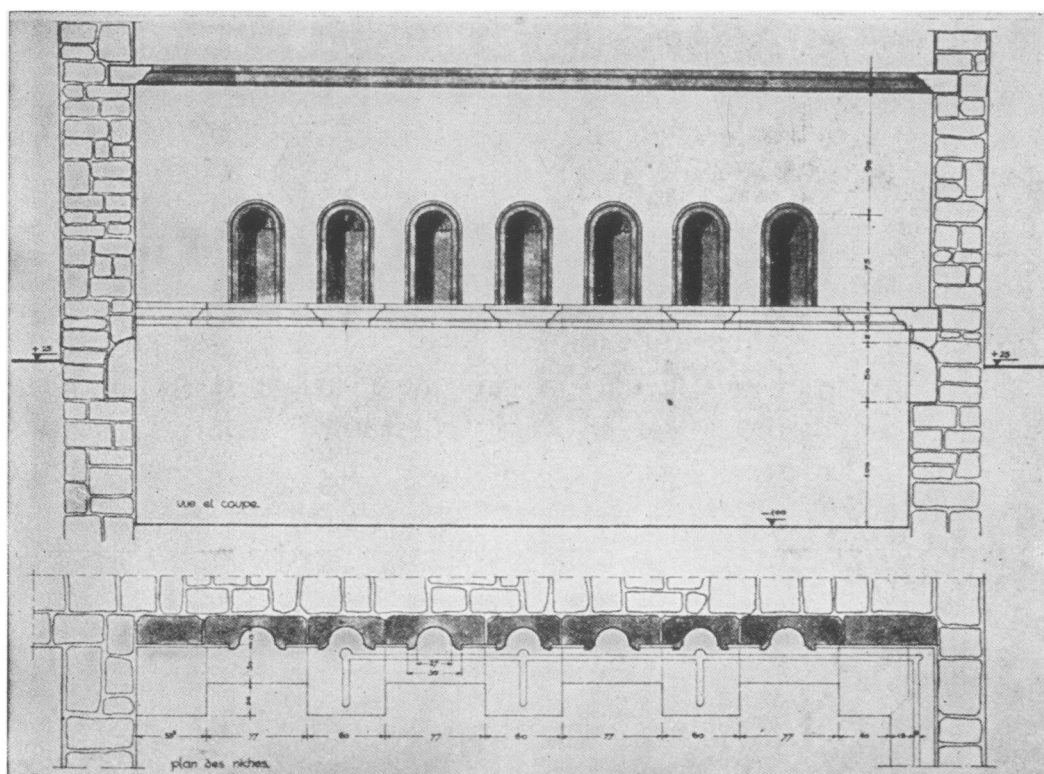


166. LARGE PERISTYLE, CAPITAL

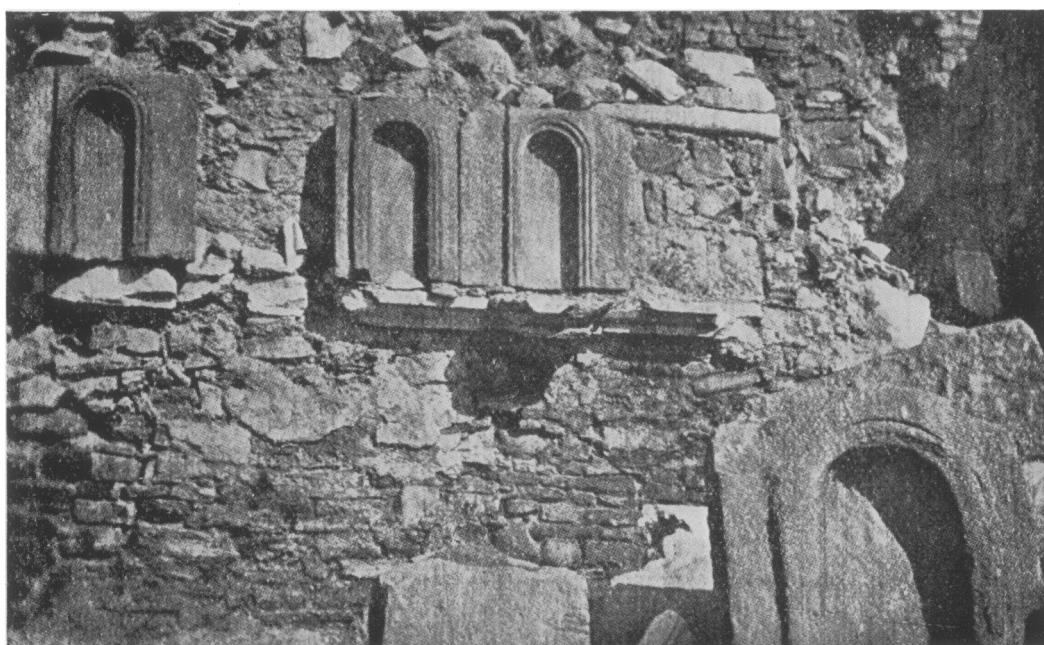


167. SMALL PERISTYLE, LONGITUDINAL SECTION, RECONSTRUCTED

STOBI, PALACE

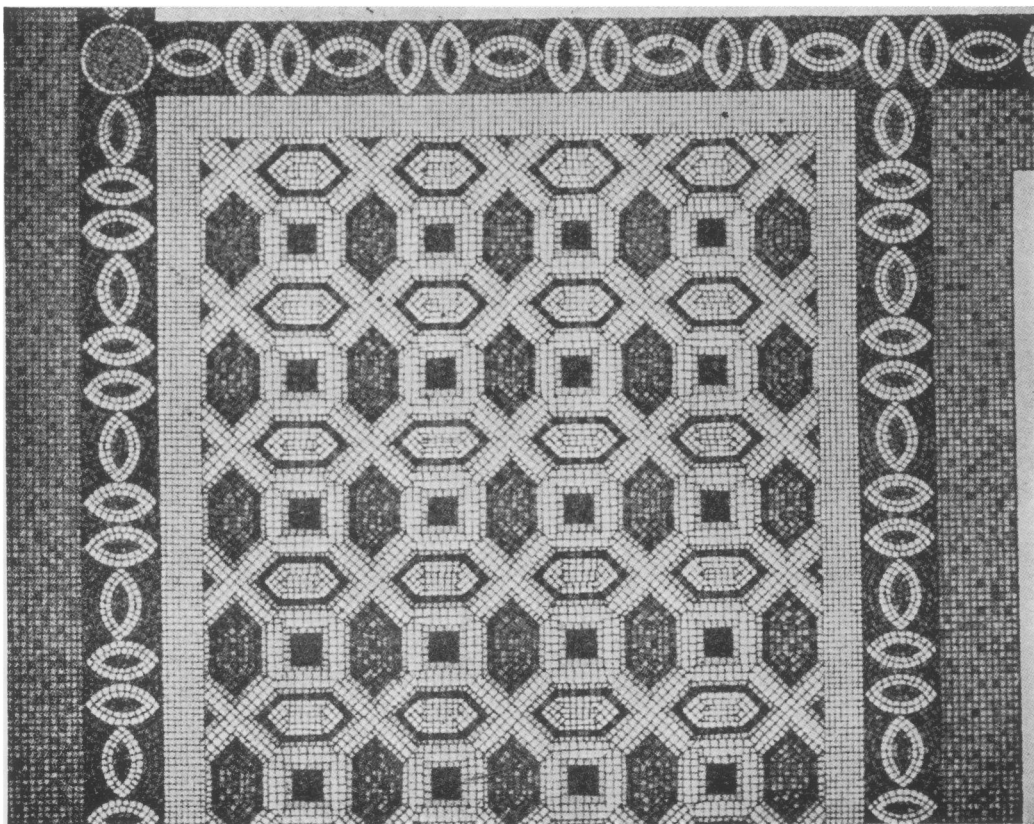


168. NORTH WALL WITH BASIN; GROUNDPLAN AND ELEVATION

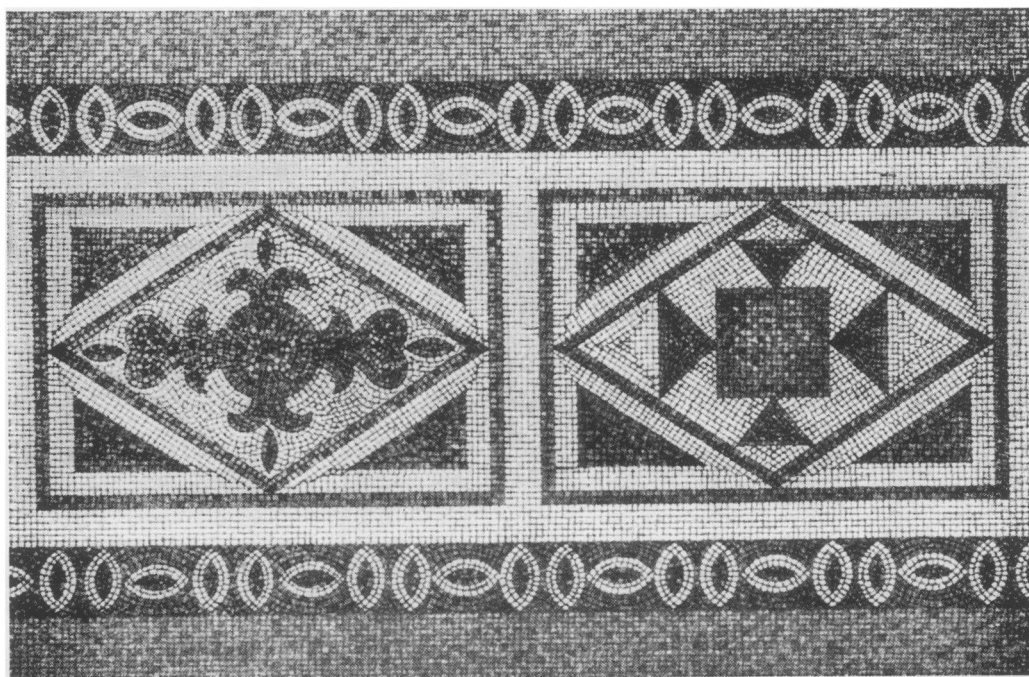


169. VIEW OF NICHES IN NORTH WALL

STOBI, PALACE: SMALL PERISTYLE



170. IN NORTH PORTICO



171. IN EAST OR WEST PORTICO

STOBI, PALACE: MOSAIC PAVEMENTS IN LARGE PERISTYLE

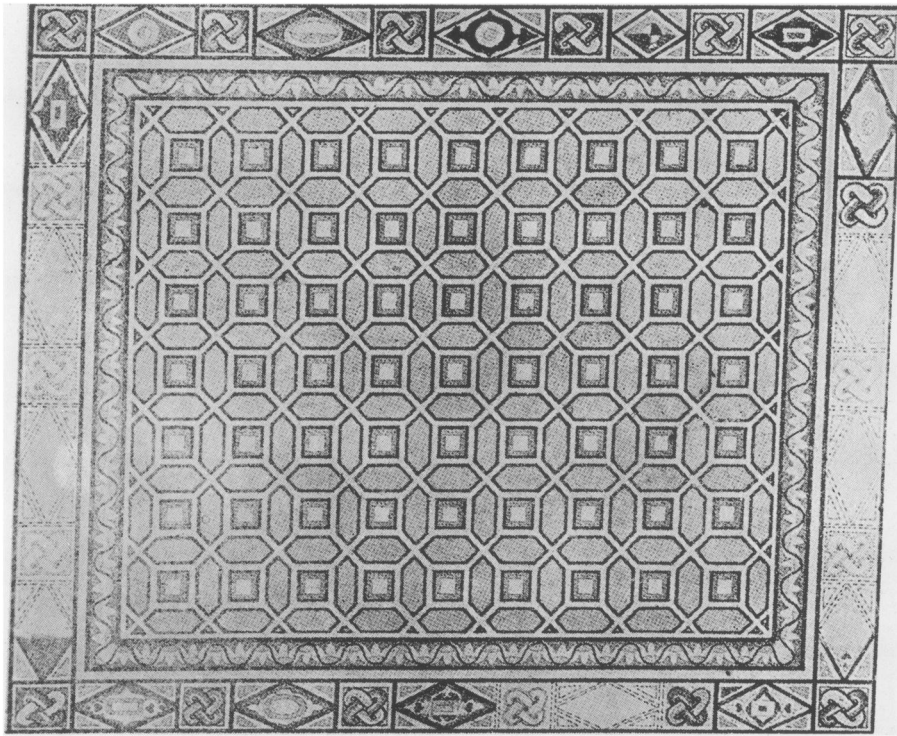


172. STOBI, PALACE, "ROOM C"

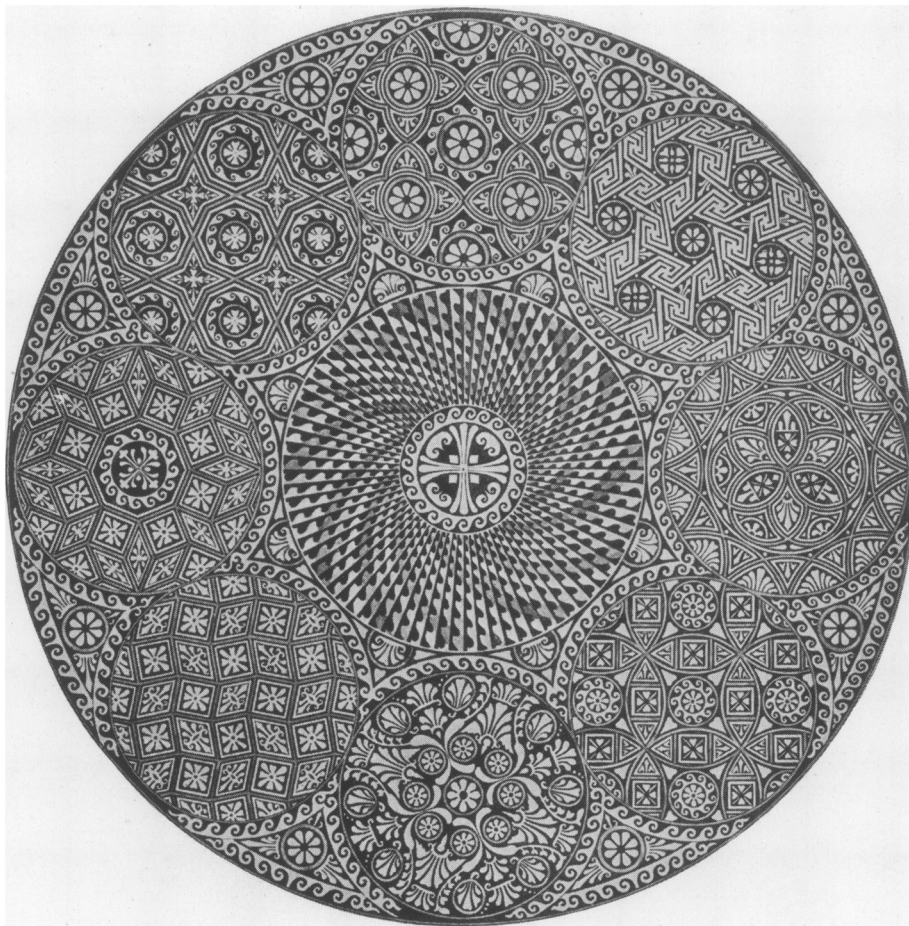


173. EPIDAUROS, HOUSE

MOSAIC PAVEMENTS

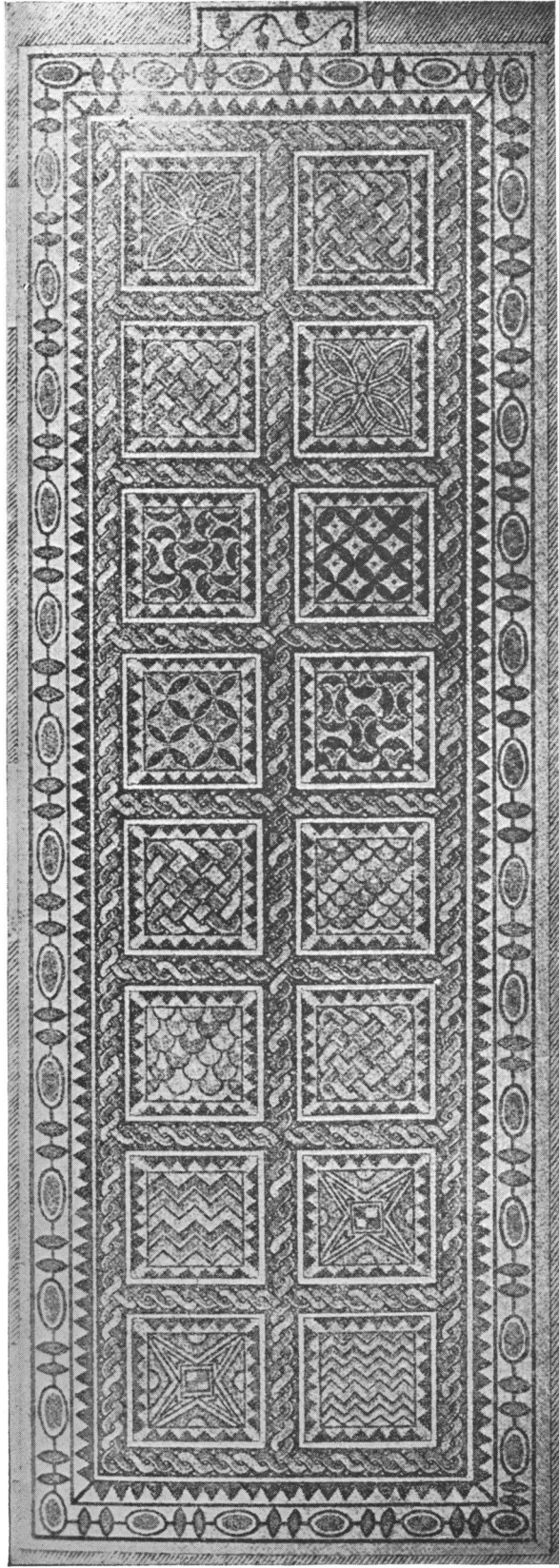


174. EPIDAUROS, BASILICA, PAVEMENT



175. ATHENS, NATIONAL MUSEUM, BRONZE DISC WITH INLAY

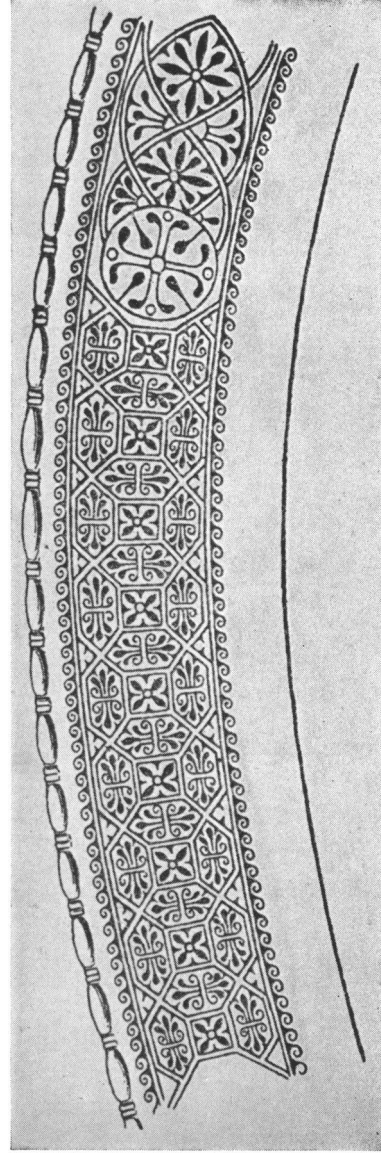
MOSAICS AND METALWORK



176. EPIDAUROS, BASILICA, PAVEMENT

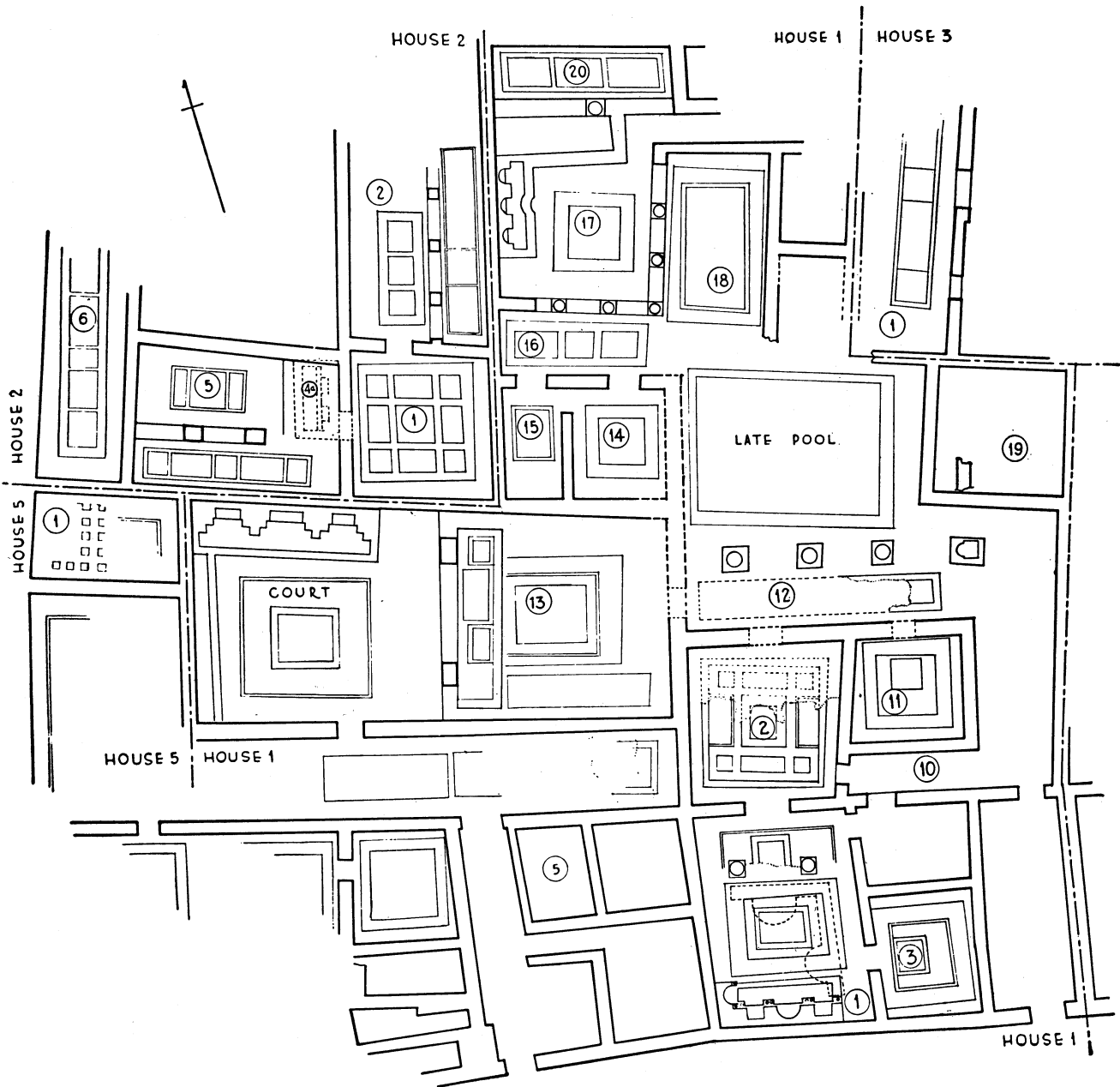


178. FRAGMENT OF SILVER DISH FROM COLERAINE, BRITISH MUSEUM



177. FRAGMENT OF SILVER DISH FROM TRAPRAIN, NATIONAL MUSEUM, EDINBURGH

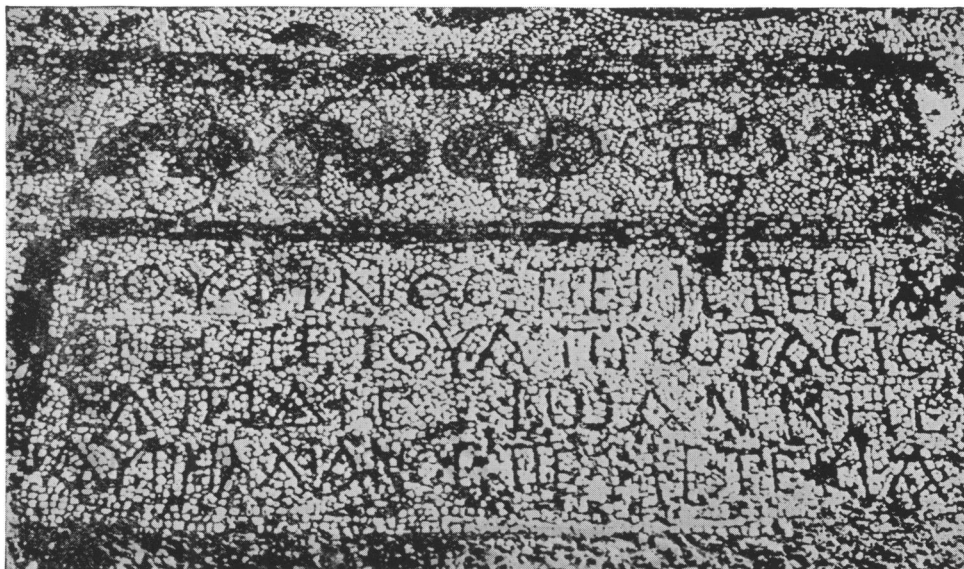
MOSAICS AND METALWORK



179. GROUP OF HOUSES AT ANTIOCH. GROUNDPLAN



180. VIEW OF ROOM WITH MOSAIC PAVEMENT

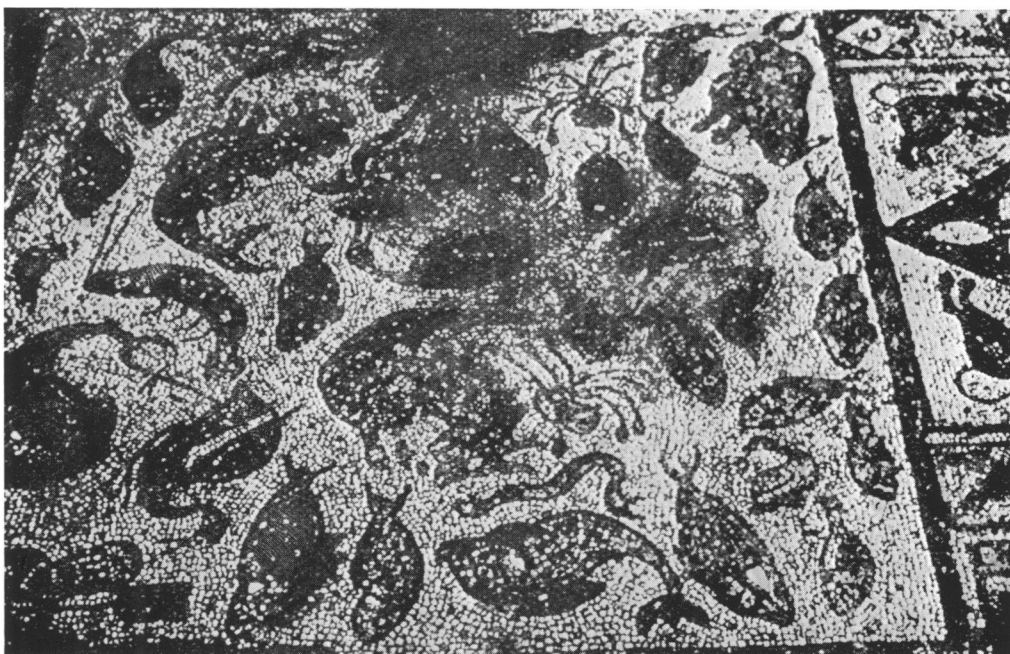


181. MOSAIC PAVEMENT, INSCRIPTION

STOBI, DOUBLE APSE BUILDING



182. MOSAIC PAVEMENT, DETAIL



183. MOSAIC PAVEMENT, DETAIL

STOBI, DOUBLE APSE BUILDING

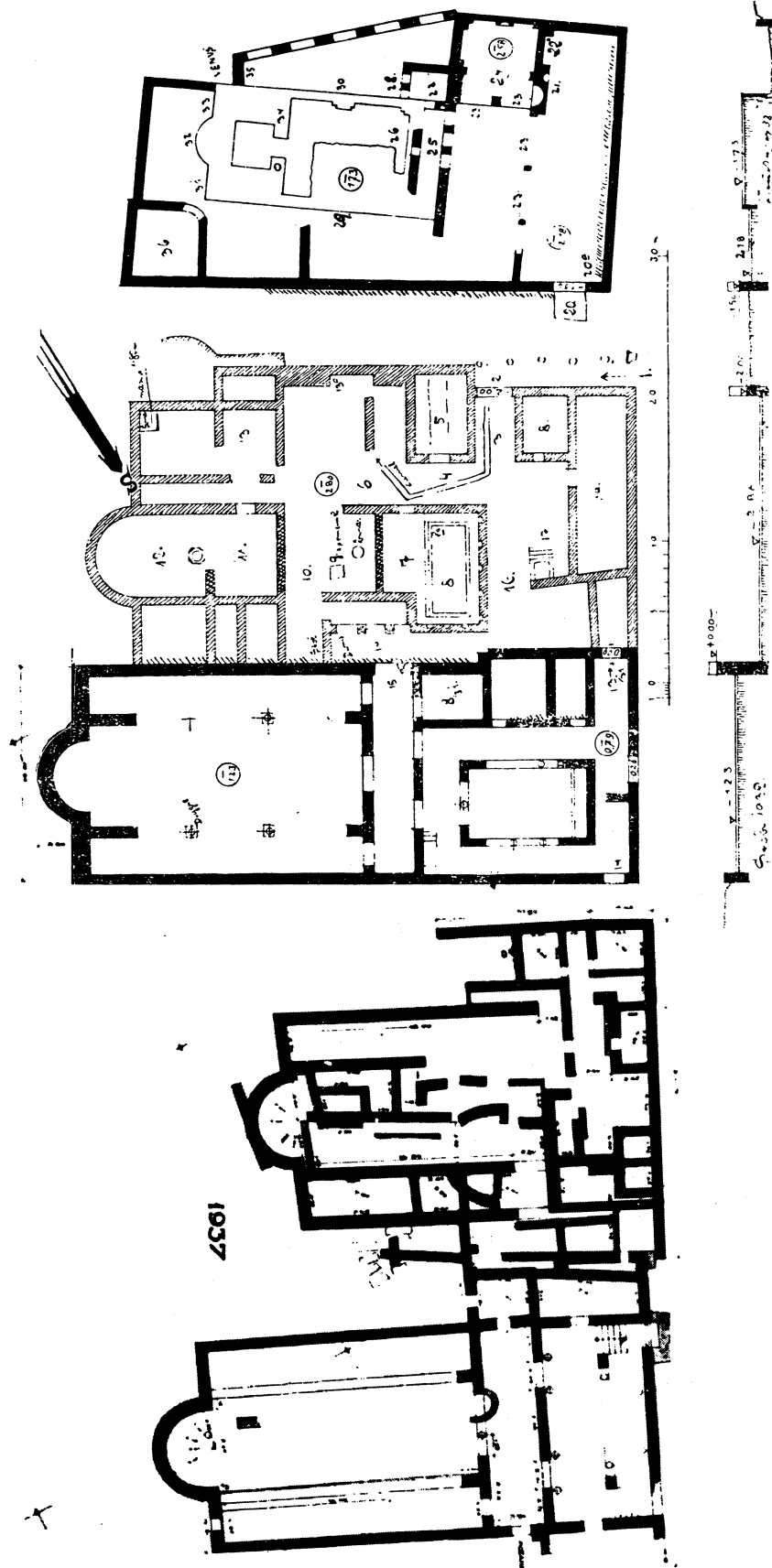


184. STOBI, DOUBLE APSE BUILDING

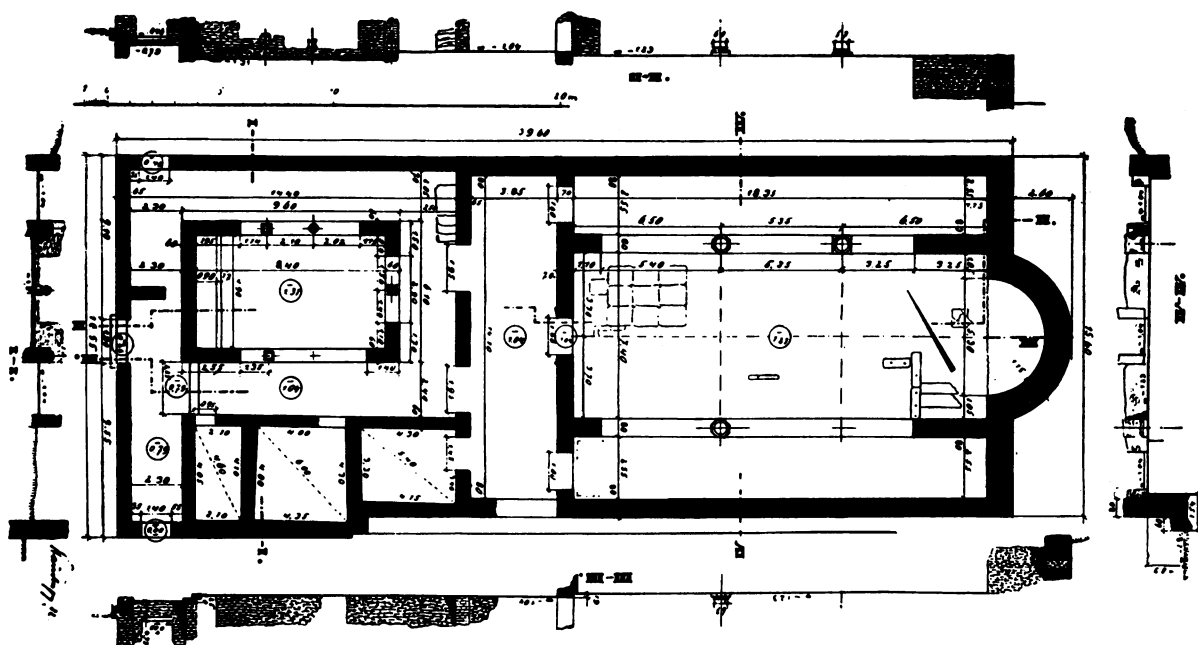


185. AQUILEIA, CHURCH OF THEODORUS (CA. 314-325)

MOSAIC PAVEMENTS



186. STOBI, "SYNAGOGUE" COMPLEX
 COMPOSITE GROUNDPLAN OF THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1931/32 AND 1937: FROM LEFT TO
 RIGHT: BASILICAE GEMINATAE, "SYNAGOGUE," "SUMMER PALACE," "WINTER PALACE"



187. GROUNDPLAN, 1932

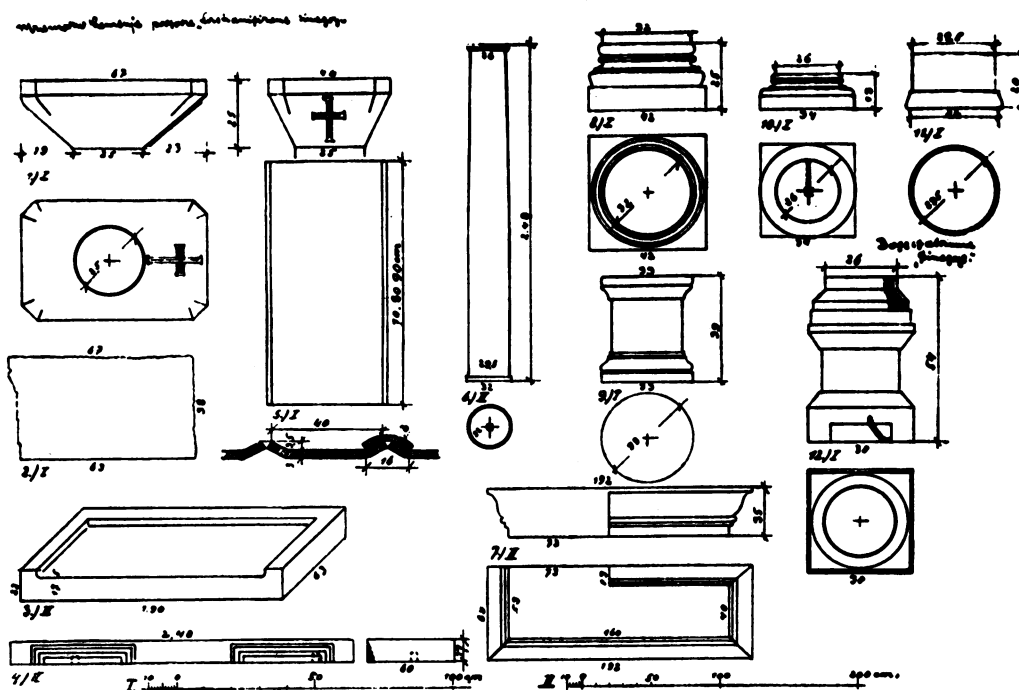


188. CAPITALS FROM ATRIUM

STOBI, "SYNAGOGUE"

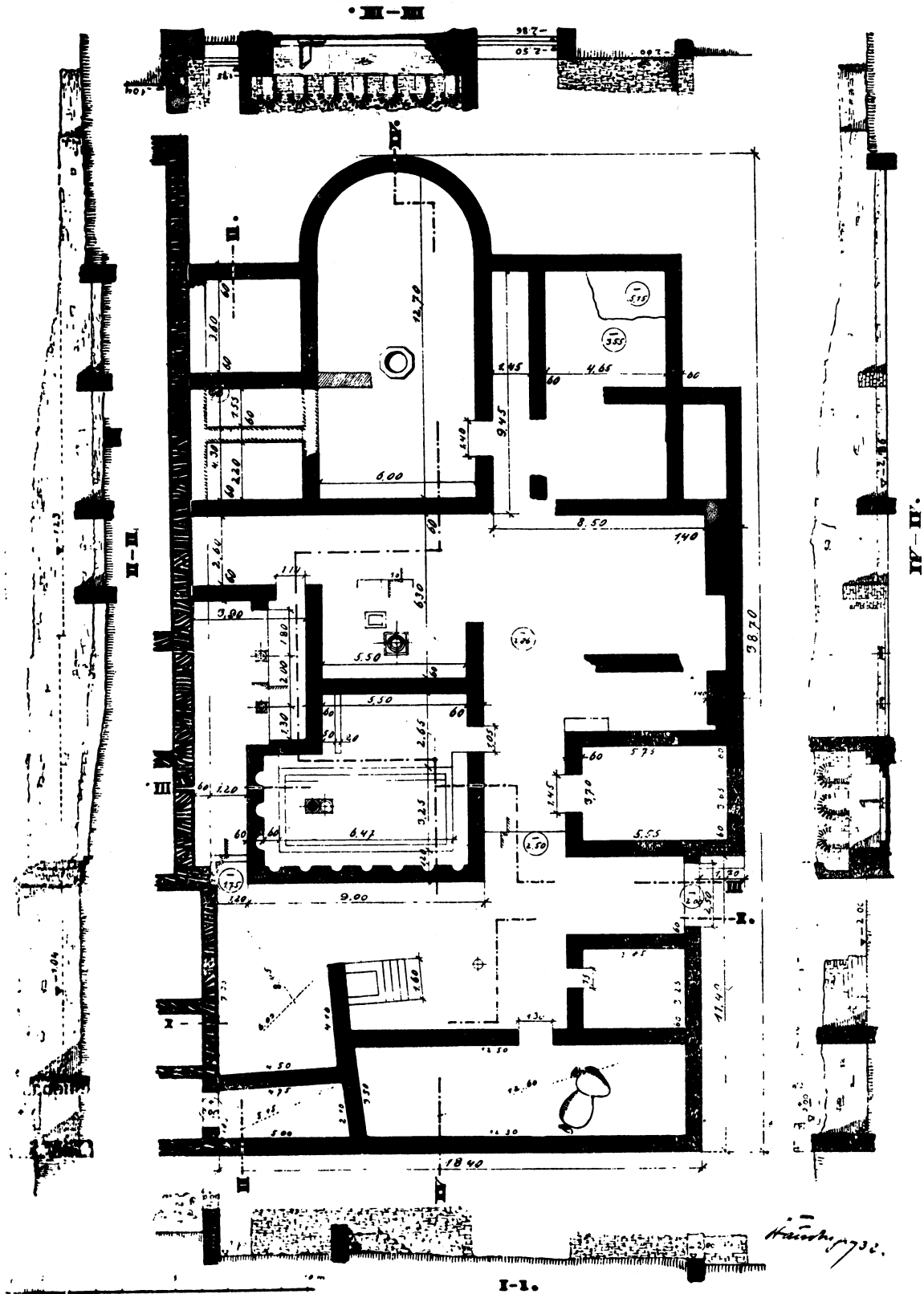


189. VIEW OF ATRIUM FROM WEST



190. DETAILS: TOP LEFT, IMPOST WITH CROSS; TOP CENTER, COLUMN SHAFT FROM ATRIUM BEARING INSCRIPTION OF POLYCHARMOS; TOP RIGHT, FIVE COLUMN BASES RE-USED IN ATRIUM

STOBI, "SYNAGOGUE"



191. STOBI, "SUMMER PALACE"
GROUNDPLAN, 1932



192. VIEW OF BASIN FROM ROOM NUMBER EIGHT



193. MOSAIC IN ROOM NUMBER TWELVE, DETAIL

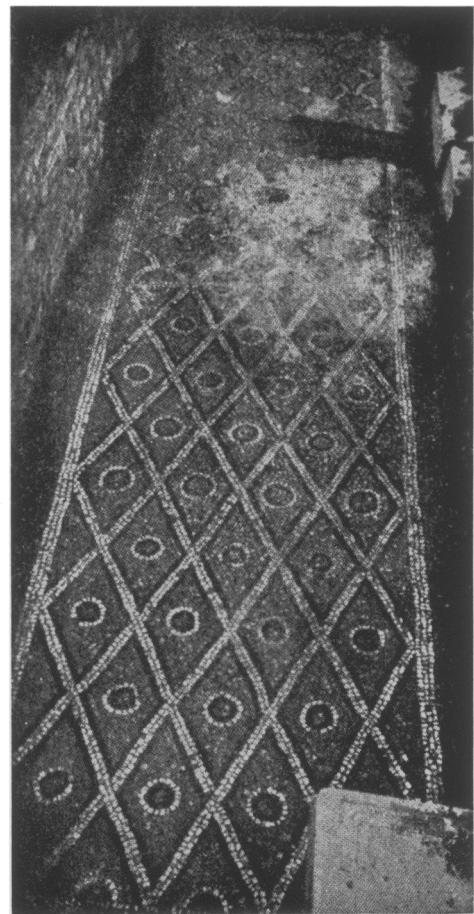
STOBI, "SUMMER PALACE"



194. ROOM NUMBER TWELVE, DETAIL

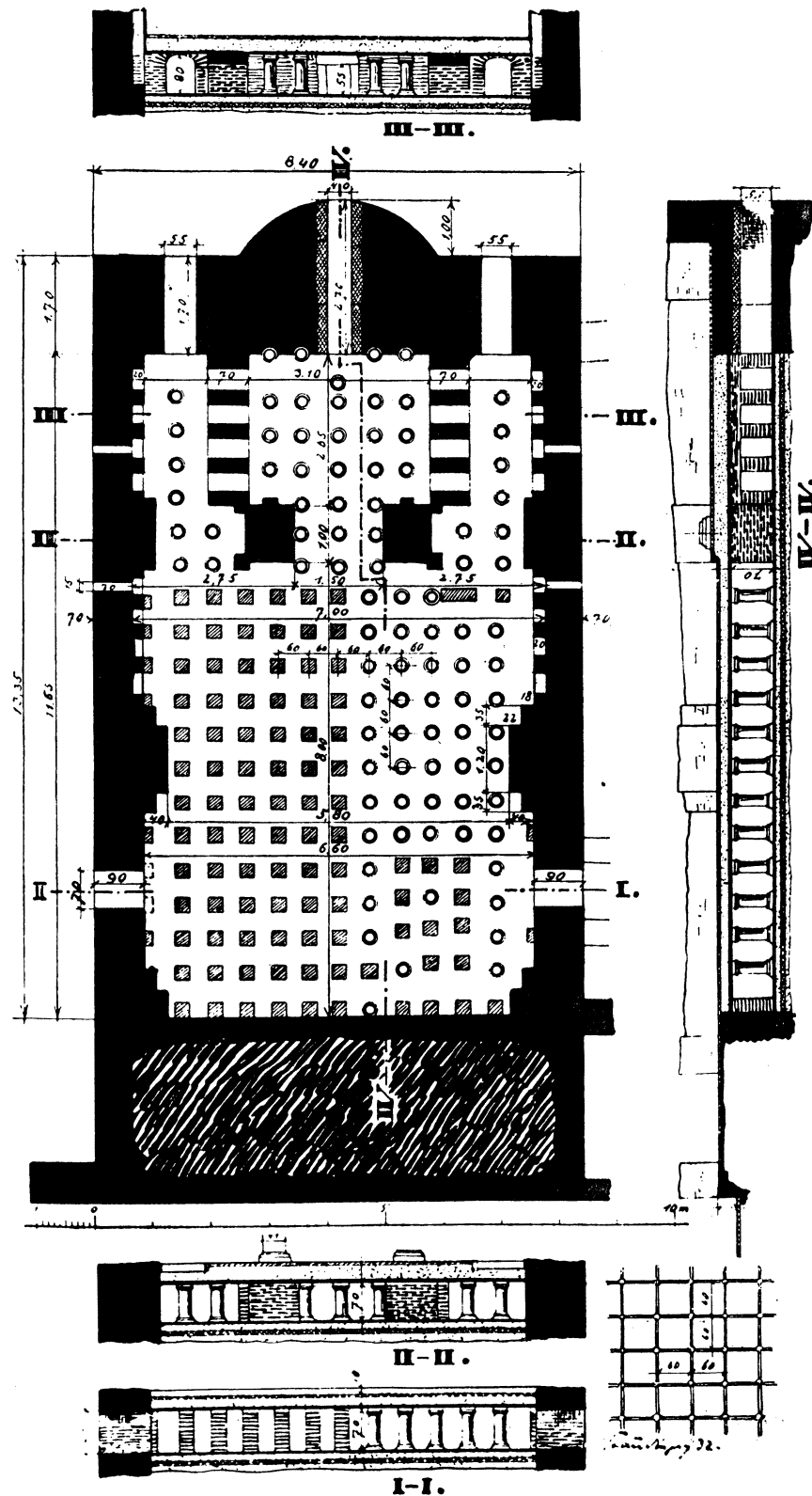


195. ROOM NUMBER FIVE



196. CORRIDOR NUMBER TEN

STOBI, "SUMMER PALACE": MOSAIC PAVEMENTS



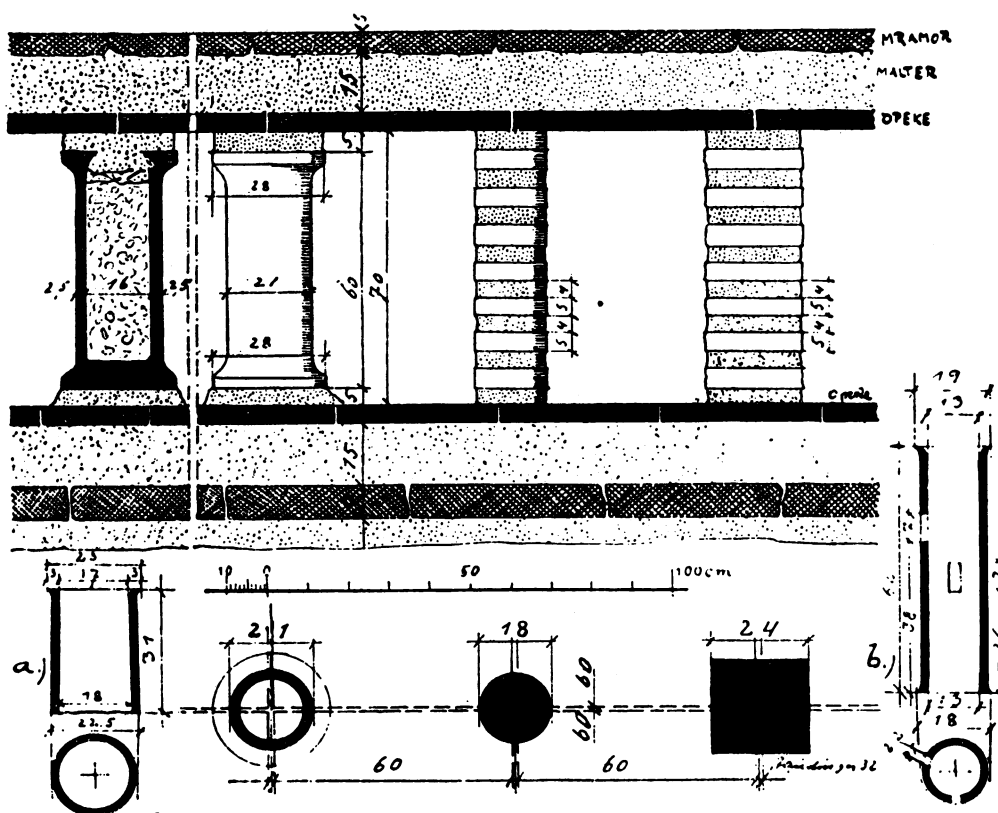
198. STOBI, "WINTER PALACE"
HYPOCAUSTS, GROUNDPLAN AND SECTIONS



199. STOBI, "WINTER PALACE"
VIEW OF HYPOCAUSTS FROM THE EAST

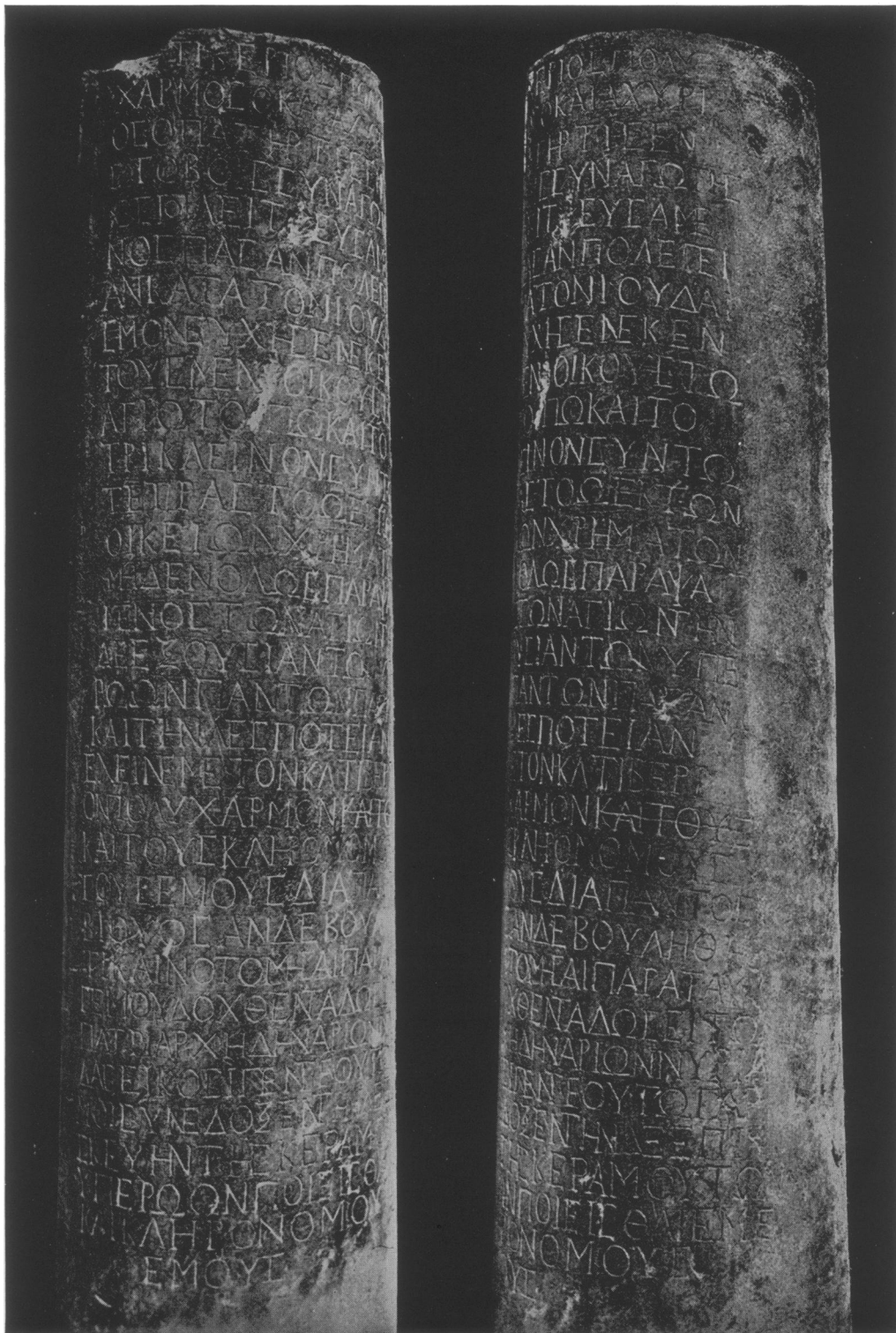


200. VIEW FROM THE WEST

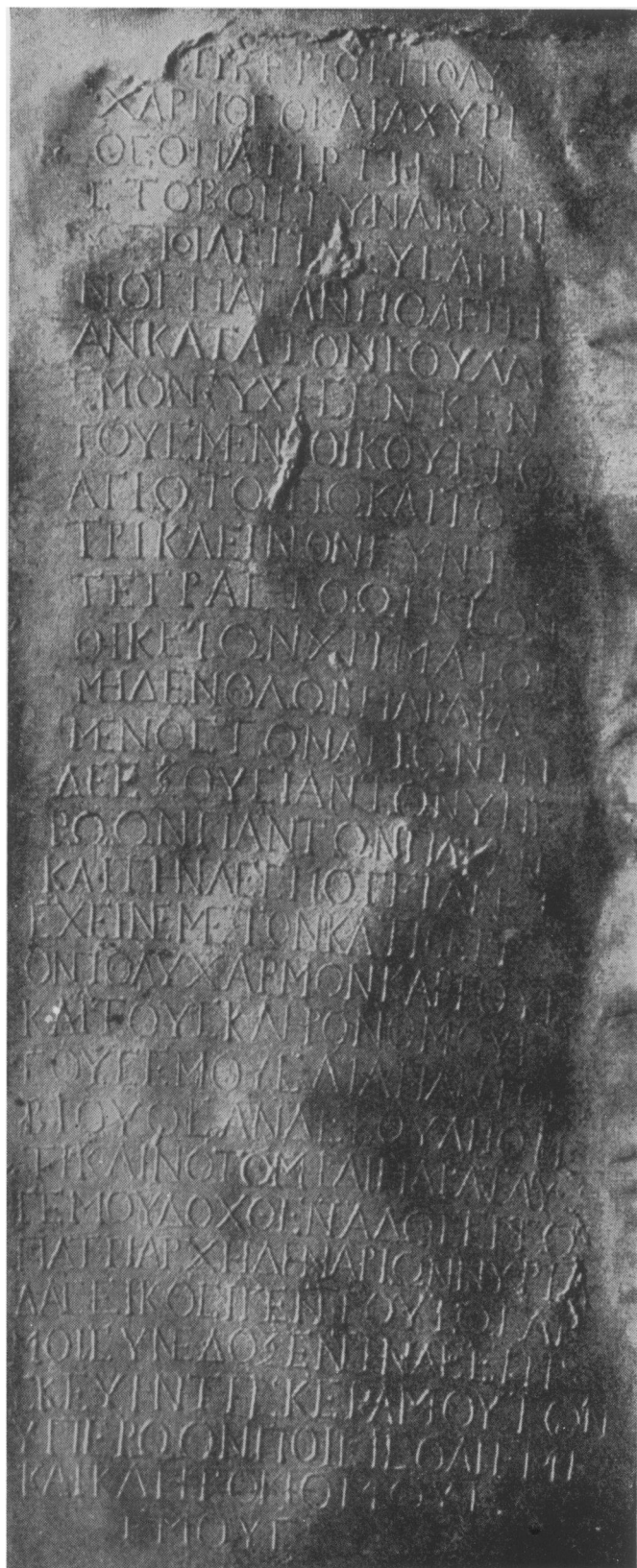


201. DIAGRAM SHOWING DIFFERENT TYPES OF SUPPORTS FOR HYPOCAUSTS

STOBI, "WINTER PALACE"



202. STOBI, "SYNAGOGUE"
COLUMN WITH INSCRIPTION OF POLYCHARMOS



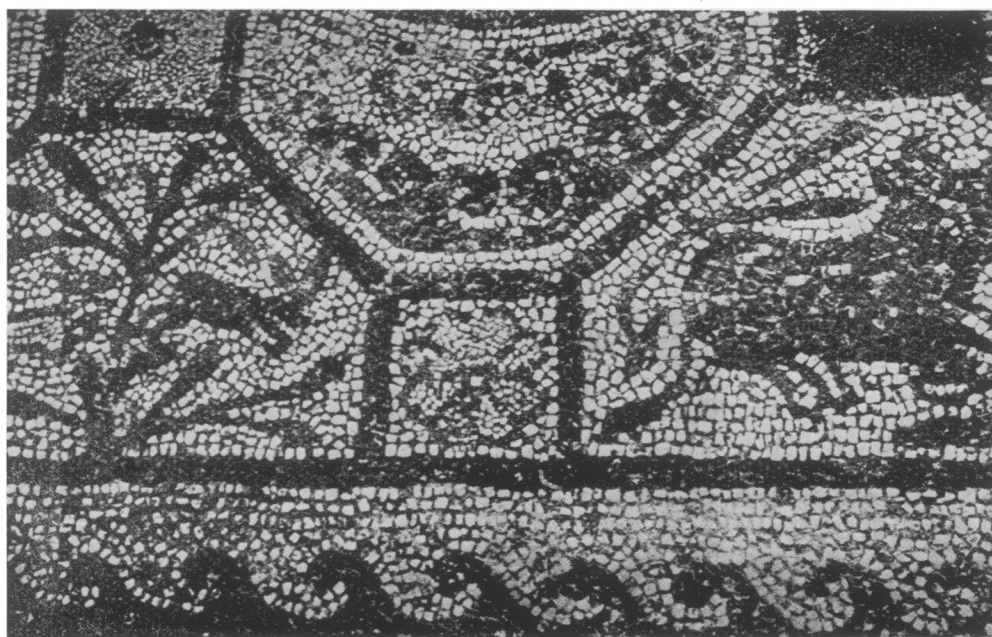
203. SQUEEZE

ΤΙΣ ΕΡΙΣ ΠΟΛΥ
 ΧΑΡΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΧΥΡΙ
 ΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ
 ΣΤΟΒΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗΣ
 ΟΣ ΘΛΕΙΤΕΥΣΑΜΕ
 ΝΟΣ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΠΟΛΕΓΕΙ
 ΑΝΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙ
 ΕΜΟΝ ΕΥΧΗ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ
 ΤΟΥ ΕΜΕΝ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΕΣΤΩ
 ΑΓΙΩΤΟ ΠΛΚΑΙΤΟ
 ΤΡΙΚΛΕΙΝΟΝ ΕΥΝΤΩ
 ΤΕΤΡΑΣΤΟΛΕΚΤΩΝ
 ΟΙΚΕΙΩΝ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ
 ΜΗΔΕΝ ΟΛΩΣ ΠΑΡΑΨΑ
 ΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΤΗΝ
 ΔΕΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΕ
 ΡΩΩΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΠΑΣΑΝ
 ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΛΕΣΠΟΤΕΙΑΝ
 ΕΧΕΙΝ ΕΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΙΒΕΡΙ
 ΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΧΑΡΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ
 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΥΣ
 ΤΟΥΣ ΕΜΟΥΣ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ
 ΒΙΟΥ ΟΣ ΑΝΔΕΒΟΥΛΗΘΗ
 ΤΙΚΑΙΝΟΤΟΜΕΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΑΥ
 ΓΕΜΟΥΔΟΧΘΕΝΤΑ ΔΩΣΕΙ ΤΩ
 ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗ ΔΗΝΑΡΙΩΝ ΝΥΡΙΑ
 ΔΑΣΕΙΚΟΣΙ ΓΕΝΕΟΥ ΤΩ ΓΑΡ
 ΜΟΙ ΣΥΝΕΔΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΠΙ
 ΕΚΕΥΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΡΑΜΟΥ ΤΩΝ
 ΥΠΕΡΩΩΝ ΠΟΙΕΙΣ ΘΑΙ ΕΜΕ
 ΚΑΙ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΥΣ
 ΕΜΟΥΣ

204. TRANSCRIPTION (VULGIC)

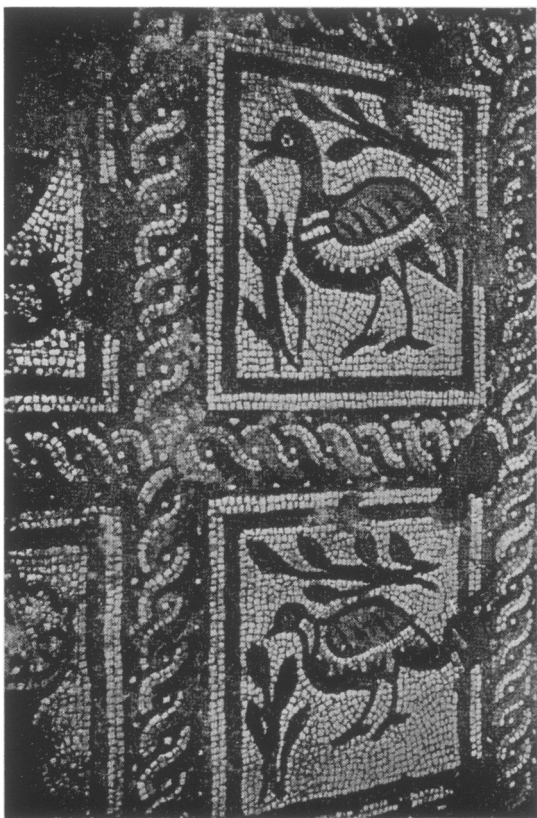


205. AQUILEIA, CHURCH OF THEODORUS (CA. 314-325)



206. STOBI, "DOUBLE APSE BUILDING"

MOSAIC PAVEMENTS WITH ANIMAL AND BIRD PANELS



207. STOBI, "SUMMER PALACE," ROOM NUMBER FIVE



208. NEA ANCHIALOS, BASILICA



209. LESBOS, ERESSOS BASILICA



210. STOBI, EPISCOPAL CHURCH, NARTHEX

MOSAIC PAVEMENTS WITH ANIMAL AND BIRD PANELS



211. FOUND IN EPISCOPAL CHURCH



212. FOUND IN EPISCOPAL CHURCH



213. FOUND IN EPISCOPAL CHURCH



214. FOUND IN EPISCOPAL CHURCH



215. FOUND IN EPISCOPAL CHURCH



216. FOUND IN THEATER

STOBI, CAPITALS OF PILASTERS